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THIS JOURNAL

The *Journal of Tamil Studies* is issued as a half annual publication in order to meet the demand for an academic periodical exclusively devoted to *Tamil Studies.* It aims at making available the results of research in Tamil Studies and at providing other information required by those involved in Tamil Studies. Its continued publication will depend on the support we hope to receive from scholars by the supply of research articles and such other materials as will make this periodical a standard journal. Its finances will depend on the circulation made available to the journal by its promoters.

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Notes on Brahui

M. ANDRONOV

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This paper forms a part of the author's book *The Brahui Language* which is shortly to be published in Russian. The present extracts offer four etymological observations and reconstructions :—(1) The etymology of Brahui. (2) The oblique plural-t-. (3) The terminative case suffix—(is) kā. (4) Personal suffixes of the Brahui verb.

1. The Etymology of *Brahui* / *brā'ūī* /

The ethnonym *brā'ūī* seems to be of the indigenous Dravidian origin and as such should be traced to the Proto-Dravidian stage. It does not differ in this respect from denominations of many other Dravidian peoples and tribes and even is etymologically related to some of them.[1] Thus, the second portion of this ethnonym is identical with the denominations of such Dravidian tribes as Kui (*kūī*), Kuvi (*kūvinga*), Konda (*kūbi*) and Gondi (*kōītōrk*, *kōya*) which mean '*hillmen, mountaineers*' (cf. *kō* '*a mountain*' in Tamil).[2] The change of the velar *k* into the glottal stop is quite an ordinary development in the intervocalic position.[3]

The first portion of the word *brā'ūī* is an attribute to the second disclosing what kind of mountaineers speak in this language. In Dravidian words initial clusters of consonants appear in result of an elision of an original intermediate vowel. In this case the quality of an elided vowel is reflected in the quality of the next vowel (which is lengthened) according to the following rule : *a* . . . *a* > *ā*, *i* . . . *i* > *ī*, *u* . . . *u* > *ū*, *i/e* . . . *a* > *ē*, *u/o* . . . *a* > *ō*.[4] As regards the initial *b*-, in Brahui it is a reflex of the original *v*- (cf. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, 1931, pp. 98–104). Finally, -*r*- may represent either the original -*r*- or the Proto-Dravidian -*ṭ*- (phonetically -*ṛ*-), -*ṟ*-, or -*ẕ*- (cf. T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, 1961, p. XIII). The semantics of the word leads to the conclusion that in this case -*r*- is most probably a reflex of the Proto-Dravidian -*ṭ*- /-*ṛ*/, so that the whole word should be analysed as *brā'ūi* < *vaṭa*- /*vaṛa*/ + *kō* + -*ī*, thus meaning '*northern hillmen, northern mountaineers*' or '*men of the northern hills, men of the northern mountains*'.

2. The Oblique Plural -*t*-

The plural suffixes -*k*, -*ak* are used in Brahui only in the nominative case and in the bases of oblique cases take shape of -*t*-, -*āt*-

(respectively). For instance, *bā* '*a mouth*'—nom.pl. *bāk* obl.pl, *bāṭ-*, *pāṭ* '*a tree*'—nom.pl. *pāṭk*, obl.pl. *pāṭṭ-*, *lumma* '*a mother*'—nom.pl. *lummagāk*, obl.pl. *lummagāt-*, *mār* '*a son*'—nom.pl. *māk*, obl.pl. *māt-*, *masiṛ* '*a daughter*'—nom.pl. *masiṅk*, obl.pl. *masint-*, *nat* '*a foot*'—nom.pl. *nak*, obl.pl. *natt-* (with *-t-* doubled after a short monosyllabic root), *arē* '*a man*'—nom.pl. *arisk*, obl.pl. *arist-*.

This interchange *-k*/*-t-* in the plural suffix is limited to Brahui and cannot be found in other Dravidian languages. The suffix *-k* which has parallels in Gondi (*-k*), Kui (*-ka*), Kuvi (*-ska*), Naiki (*-ku*), Gadaba, Parji and Kolami (*-kul*), Tulu (*-kuḷu*), Koḍagu (*-aṅga*), Kannada (*-gaḷu*), Malayalam and Tamil (*-kaḷ*), undoubtedly is a common Dravidian plural marker (cf. J. Bloch, 1946, pp. 8-10). The nature of the suffix *-t-* is not so lucid. It might be compared only with the plural suffixes in Parji (*-til* < *-t-* + *-il*) and probably in Kolami and Gadaba (*-cil*, *-sil*, if *-c-*, *-s-* here are palatalized forms of **-t-*). In all these languages, however, this suffix is retained in all case forms.

A tempting, at first sight, comparison with an analogous suffix of the Uralian languages [5] (cf. *-t* in Finnish, Karelian, Erzia-Mordovian, Khanty, Mansi and Selkoop, *-D* in Izhorian and Livonian, *-d* in Estonian, Veppish and Vodian) can hardly be convincing since in many of these languages this suffix is used only in the nominative (and the accusative), whereas in Brahui, on the contrary, it is used only in oblique cases and is never used in the nominative.

Most probably, the Brahui plural suffix *-t-* is in origin a so-called increment which frequently appears in oblique cases of many Dravidian languages (cf., *e.g.*, Tamil *maram* '*a tree*'—*maratt-*, Gondi *rōn* '*a house*'—*rōt-*, Kuvi *mṛeha* 'a man'—*mṛehata-*, *mṛehaṅa* '*men*'—*mṛehaṅata-*, etc.) and which assimilates in this case the plural suffix *-k* (*i.e.*, *bā* '*a mouth*'—nom.pl. *bāk*, obl.pl. *bāt-* < *bāk* + *-t-*, *lōtāk* '*bags*'—obl.pl. *lōtāt-* < *lōtāk* + *-t-*, etc.).

3. The Terminative Case Suffix -(*is*)*kā*

The terminative case in Brahui is expressed by the suffix -(*is*)*kā* which is added to nominal bases. The suffix *-iskā* is used in the singular where it is added directly to the base; the suffix *-kā* is used both in the singular and plural and is attached to the base by means of the connective vowel *-ē-* (in the singular the suffix *-kā* is met with only after the indefinite particle *-as*). E.g., *draxt* '*a tree*'—term.sg. *draxtiskā* '*up to the tree*', *draxtasēkā* '*up to a tree*', term.pl. *draxtātēkā* '*up to the trees*'.

The suffix of the terminative case *-(is)kā* is undoubtedly related genetically to the suffix of the adessive case *-(is)k*, *-is* which is close to it both in meaning and form. The difference is only in the final *-ā* in the terminative. This *-ā* is, most probably, of a later origin and, at least from the etymological point of view, constitutes a separate morpheme.

The use of the adessive suffix now in the form of *-isk* (or *-iskin*), now in the form of *-is*, now in the form of *-k*, as well as the use of the terminative suffix now in the form of *-iskā*, now in the form of *-kā*, makes one suspect that the suffix *-isk*, in its turn, also consists of two heterogeneous morphemes *-is* and *-k* conjoined through contamination. The development of case suffixes in this way is no exception in Dravidian languages. Thus, *e.g.*, the suffix of the allative (directive-terminative) case *-ilēkk*/*-kalēkkī* in Malayalam has also developed from the contamination of two suffixes, *i.e.*, the locative suffix *-il*/*-kal* and the dative suffix *-k*.

The relative complexity of the morphemic structure of the suffixes *-isk*, *-iskā* and the nature of their allomorphs makes one to regard them as recent innovations. This is indirectly supported by the absence of parallel forms in related languages, except Malayalam in which this suffix is also of recent origin and is not found in early texts.

In Brahui itself the suffixes *-isk*, *-iskā* are, most probably, connected with the dative suffix *-ki* (this is best preserved in the optional form of the adessive suffix *-iskin* in which *-n* is an ordinary morphophonemic consonant) and with the suffix of the directive case *-āy* (in its other form *-ā* found in the Jhalawan dialect).

The nature of the morpheme *-is* of these suffixes remains unclear. It is remarkable that it is absent in plural forms and in singular forms with an indefinite particle *-as* attached (cf. *sardār* '*sardar*'—dat.sg. *sardārki*, adess.sg. *sardārisk*, *sardāris*, *sardārasēk*, term.sg. *sardāriskā*, *sardārasēkā*, dat.pl. *sardā(rā)tēki*, adess.pl. *sardā(rā)tēk*, term.pl. *sardā(rā)tēkā*). This peculiarity gives ground to believe that originally the suffix *-is* was no case suffix.[6]

4. Personal Suffixes of the Verb

The comparison of personal suffixes of the Brahui verb with each other (see the table on the next page) proves that their most stable and important element is represented in their consonants. The final *-a* in the present-future and past continuous tenses undoubtedly is of a later origin and should be connected with the differentiation of the indicative and potential moods. The initial

vowels *-i-/-ē-* in the present-future tense of the indicative mood and in the present tense of the potential mood, as well as the initial *-u-* in many of the past tenses, most probably, have—at least at the present stage—a morphophonemic nature (connective vowels). This is evident from their absence after stems and tense suffixes ending in vowels. Consequently, the most characteristic personal suffixes are the following :—

	Singular	Plural
1 Person	*-v, -r, -ṭ*	*-n*
2 Person	*-s*	*-re*
3 Person	*-k, -e, ∅, (a)s*	*-r, -ō, -(a)s*

TABLE

Mood			Indicative					Potential		Con-ditional
Form		Tense / Person	Present-Future	Past	Past Continuous	Past Perfect	Plu-perfect	Present	Future	
Positive	Singular	1	*-iva/-ēva*	*-(u)ṭ*	*-(u)ṭa*	*-uṭ*	*-uṭ*	*-iv/-ēv*	*-ṭ*	*-uṭ*
		2	*-isa/-ēsa*	*-(u)s*	*-(u)sa*	*-us*	*-us*	*-is/-ēs*	*-s*	*-us*
		3	*-ik/-ēk*	—∅	*-(a)ka*	*-e*	*-as/-∅*	*-e/-ē*	*-e*	*-as*
	Plural	1	*-ina/-ēna*	*-(u)n*	*-(u)na*	*-un*	*-un*	*-in/-ēn*	*-n*	*-un*
		2	*-ire/-ēre*	*-(u)re*	*-(u)re*	*-ure*	*-ure*	*-ire/-ēre*	*-re*	*-ure*
		3	*-ira/-ēra*	*-(u)r*	*-(u)ra*	*-ō*	*-ur/-ō*	*-ir/-ēr*	*-r*	*-ur/-ō*
Negative	Singular	1	*-ra*	*-aṭ*	*-aṭa*	*-uṭ*	*-uṭ*	*-r*	*-ṭ*	*-uṭ*
		2	*-ēsa*	*-ēs*	*-ēsa*	*-us*	*-us*	*-ēs*	*-s*	*-us*
		3	*-k*	—∅	*-aka*	*-e*	*-as*	—∅	*-e*	*-as*
	Plural	1	*-na*	*-an*	*-ana*	*-un*	*-un*	*-n*	*-n*	*-un*
		2	*-ēre*	*-ēre*	*-ēre*	*-ure*	*-ure*	*-ēre*	*-re*	*-ure*
		3	*-sa*	*-as*	*-asa*	*-ō*	*-ur/-ō*	*-s*	*-r*	*-ur/-ō*

Self-evident parallels in related languages are available only for the second person plural suffix *-re* (cf. *-er* in Malto, *-ar*/*-or* in Kurukh, *-eri* in Kuvi, *-eru* in Kui, *-ider* in Konda, *-r* in Gadaba and Parji, *-ir* in Naiki, Kolami and Old Kannada, *-ru* in Telugu, *-ari* in Tulu, *-ru* in Kodagu, *-īri*/*-iri* in Modern Kannada, *-īr* in Kota and Tamil) and for the third person plural suffix *-r* (cf. *-er* in Malto, *-ar*/*-or* in Kurukh, *-eri* in Kuvi, *-eru* in Kui, *-ar* in Konda, *-ur*/*-ōr* in Gondi, *-r* in Gadaba and Parji, *-er*/*-ar* in Naiki and Kolami, *-ru* in Telugu, *-eri* in Tulu, *-(a)ru*/*-āre* in Kannada, *-ār*/*-ō(r)* in Kota, *-ar*/*-ār* in Tamil).

More complicated is the relationship of the first person plural suffix *-n* with a similar suffix of the first person singular in other languages, on one hand, and the relationship of the first person singular suffix *-ṭ* with the suffixes of the first person plural inclusive *-aṭ* in Kurukh and Gondi and *-it*/*-et* in Malto, on the other (similar semantic development of the corresponding personal pronoun may be observed in, *e.g.*, Tamil *nām* '*we and you*' > '*I*'). This is also true of the first person singular suffix *-v* and suffixes of the first person plural, containing *v*/*m* in many other languages. Anyhow, suffixes of the singular and plural are distributed in the first person of the Brahui verb just in the opposite way to what is found in other Dravidian languages, in which the suffix *-n* is found in the first person singular whereas the suffixes *-m*/*-v* and *-ṭ-* in the first person plural.

The diversity of suffixes in the third person may be attributed in many cases to the disappearance of gender : serveral suffixes are obviously relics of an older stage when Brahui distinguished, as is now the case with all the Dravidian languages except Malayalam and Toda, two or three genders. Thus, *e.g.*, the suffix of the third person singular *-as* (and its counterpart in the plural) has parallels in the suffixes of the masculine gender in Kurukh (*-as*), Malto (*-ah*), Kuvi (*-esi*) and through related forms of Kui (*-eñju*) and Gadaba (*-enḍ*/*-anḍ*/*-onḍ*) may probably be connected with suffixes of other languages. Another singular suffix *-e* coincides with the non-masculine suffix *-e* in Kuvi, Kui and Gadaba and probably is connected with vowel suffixes in other languages. Similarly, the suffix of the third person plural *-ō* is to be compared with the corresponding forms of the non-masculine (or neuter) gender in Kota (*-ō*), Kui (*-o*/*-u*), Kuvi (*-u*), Parji (*-ov*/*-uv*/*-av*), Gondi (*-ō*, negative) and in many other languages which have *v* in this suffix.

The remaining suffixes of the singular number— *-r* in the first person of the negative form, *-s* in the second person and *-k*, *-Ø* in

the third—now look isolated.[7] These may be innovations which developed after the separation of Brahui from the Proto-Dravidian language. It is not excluded, however, that some of them, at least may represent a trace of an older system of personal forms that preceded the present system.

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1 The derivation of the word *brā'ūī* from the personal name *Ibrahim*, frequently met with among Brahuis themselves, is nothing more than a popular etymology invented after the adoption of Islam. The Iranian etymology *barōhī* 'a *mountaineer*' is doubtful for many reasons (the phonetic development is not clear, etc.). It is likely, however, that *barōhī* might be a calque of the Dravidian word.

2 Cf. synonymous ethnonyms *kurava*, *maleh*, *malayāḷī* all meaning '*a mountaineer*'. Here obviously belong also *koṇḍa* (cf. Telugu *koṇḍa* '*a mountain*'), *gōṇḍ* and *kūrux* (etymologically related to *koṇḍa*).

3 Cf., e.g., Kurukh *tākā* '*wind*', Malto *tāke id.*, Brahui *ta'ō id.* (T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, 1961, p. 204).

4 A detailed analysis of such phonetic changes see in A. Master, 1948, pp. 340-362.

5 For a detailed treatment of the Dravido-Uralian parallels in morphology cf. M. Andronov, 1968, pp. 16-36.

6 D. Bray's attempt to compare this *-is* with the locative suffix *-il* in Tamil or, as he puts it, 'the Dravidian locative *-il*' (cf. D. Bray, 1909, p. 11) is invalid: phonetic correspondences in support of Ta. *l* : Br. *s* are not found, and so are correspondences to the Tamil suffix *-il* outside the Southern group of Dravidian languages.

7 To be exact, —∅ is found in all persons in Malayalam and in the third person singular non-masculine of the past and past continuous tenses in Gondi. In the negative form —∅ is employed as a suffix of the third person plural neuter in Old Tamil and Naiki (in the present future tense), and as a suffix of the third person singular in the present-future tense in Kolami. The suffix *-k* is used in the third person plural (in the interrogative form of the past tense) in Toda and the suffix *-āṅg/-uṅg/-ōṅg*—in the third person plural non-masculine in Gondi.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LINGUISTIC SURVIVAL FACING MINORITIES OR SUBJECT NATIONALITIES

A Study Based on Welsh

Ceinwen H. THOMAS

Welsh is a member of the Celtic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. It is the indigenous language of Wales, spoken today by 26% of the population, according to the 1961 Census.[1] This represents a steep drop in the present century, from the 54·4% of the population recorded in the 1891 Census. The language undoubtedly faces a stiff struggle for survival; indeed, the struggle is already going on, and no observer of the contemporary scene in Wales can fail to be struck by the vigour and determination with which friends of the language have begun to marshal their resources on its behalf.

The present state of the language can be shown to be due to a number of causes, the most important being;

(1) that the language lacks official status and recognition in Wales, English being the sole official language.[2]

(2) that it has been and continues very largely to be discriminated against in the compulsory State system of education that came into being in 1870. The marked decline in the number of Welsh speakers marches with the establishment and development of the State school system, the grammar schools having a particularly black record.

(3) The steady depopulation of the country during the present century, particularly from the areas where the language is strongest. This population drain has been consistently high since the 1914 World War, rising at times to a spectacular level, as it did in the economic depression of the early 1930s during which half a million people were directed from Wales to work in England.

(4) The general malaise, which afflicts long dominated peoples, and which the Welsh people are only now beginning to throw off, with the spread of political nationalism in the present century.

The emergence of Welsh [3] from the older form of the language, known to scholars as British or Brythonic, is believed to have been completed, at latest, by the second half of the sixth century [4] for the earliest surviving poetry in Welsh dates from this period. The changes involved in the growth and development of this new linguistic entity were profound, transforming British, which seems to have been a synthetic language at the same stage of development as Latin, to which it bore certain striking resemblances in sound system and morphology, into an analytic language of a very different character.

No changes of a comparable magnitude have occurred since; the language has indeed been remarkably stable, so that a sixth century poem can, with some annotation, be made intelligible to an educated modern speaker of Welsh. This stability "makes for tradition, since at no time during the long history of Welsh poetry has any generation been precluded by linguistic difficulties from knowing what past generations have been saying." [5]

From this early time and throughout the period of independence, Welsh was the language of the royal courts and the aristocracy as well as of the common people. Not only was it the language of administration and of everyday life, but it was the instrument of the highest culture of which the Welsh nation is capable. The literary remains of the period in prose and verse are both abundant and of a high order.

This ascendency of the language survived the loss of independence and the disappearance of the royal court in 1282. Welsh remained the language of the aristocracy, who took pride in patronising Welsh literature until the 16th century was under way. Regional differences undoubtedly existed in the spoken language, but throughout the Middle Ages such differences can rarely be detected in the literary language. It is not until the 16th century that dialectal and regional features are reflected in the literary language, a tendency that never got out of hand. This was the century of the Act of Union of England and Wales, 1536, the work of the Tudor monarch, Henry VIII. The Tudors had some Welsh blood in their veins, and the Welsh were very loyal to them, believing they would restore the rights and liberties of Wales. But the Tudors incorporated Wales into the realm of England and encouraged the Welsh aristocracy to seek preferment at the English court and to educate their sons at the new Tudor Grammar Schools, centres of anglicising influence. They gradually became English in speech and outlook and ceased to patronize Welsh literature.

The Welsh language, abandoned to the common people, was in danger of degenerating into a mere patois, and there were fears that it would disappear altogether.

This fate was averted, largely owing to religious influences. The Protestant Reformation in the 18th century which resulted in the translation of the Prayer Book and New Testament (1567) and the whole Bible (1588), the work of 17th century Puritans, and especially the Methodist Revival of the 18th century combined to turn the Welsh into a people who read the Bible extensively, and the language not only survived among the common people but was enriched and revitalized.

That they could read the Bible at all was due to the zeal of religious leaders. It was concern for the people's religious welfare that caused an Anglican clergyman, Griffith Jones of Llanddowror, to attack the problem of illiteracy in the very period of the Methodist Revival. He established Circulating Schools[6] to teach the people to read Welsh, using the Bible as textbook. These schools were singularly successful and when he died in 1764, it was claimed that 158,000 persons had been taught to read in a quarter of a century.

Learning to read Welsh is not difficult, although there is not an exact one-to-one correspondence between phoneme and symbol. For example, there are seven vowel symbols[7] representing thirteen phonemes. This gives two-vowel qualities to each symbol, with an overlap of symbolization between two symbols. But the phonological structure of the language is such that a native speaker can choose the right vowel quality with a high degree of accuracy.

These schools were followed, in the latter part of the century, by Sunday Schools, which became a huge success and were a feature of the religious activity of all the Nonconformist sects[8] during the whole of the 19th century. Both children and adults attended them, and throughout the century, the Sunday School was the only place where the Welshman could learn to read his own language. Their influence was immense, for people attended all their lives, reading and studying the Bible in small discussion groups each under its teacher. It was said of them:[9] "The language cultivated in the Sunday Schools being Welsh . . . the religious vocabulary of the Welsh language has been enlarged, strengthened and rendered capable of expressing every shade of idea and the great mass of the poorer classes have been trained from childhood in its use." The decline of the Sunday School and of Welsh Nonconformity in the present century has been a loss to the language.

The form of Welsh acceptable in public utterances is another gift for which the religious life of the country is responsible. Welsh Nonconformity has made the sermon the central part of public worship, and apart from the Sunday Schools, the sermon has been the most important influence on the development and safeguarding of the language. Even now an able preacher can always attract a large congregation. The preachers, drawn from all parts of the country, were under the necessity of finding a spoken medium easily intelligible and acceptable to all. The Bible has been the source of Welsh preaching and each sermon is founded on a verse or paragraph of the Bible. This has meant that the preacher has a wide and detailed knowledge of the Welsh Bible, and of the Welsh language in its most majestic form. The oral style evolved by the preachers, therefore, leaned heavily on literary Welsh in syntax and idiom. It is extraordinarily uniform, although reflecting regional differences on the phonetic and phonological levels.

The language evolved for the pulpit is undoubtedly the prestige dialect of Wales, as dialectologists working among the common people soon discover. It is the form to which even the most illiterate speakers defer as "correct" Welsh, the form they themselves seek to reproduce whenever they deem the situation demands something superior to their own regional dialects. It is the basis of the formal style adopted by educated Welsh speakers for lecturing or appearances on the radio and television. At its most formal, it differs little if at all on the syntactical level from the literary style. The quite wide phonological and phonetic differences between Northern and Southern Welsh do not trouble listeners at all when they listen to this form of Welsh and there is evidence that listeners discount these differences so completely at times as to be unaware of the region of origin of the speaker.

Yet educators grappling with the problem of teaching Welsh as a second language are troubled by the idea that there is no such thing as standard spoken Welsh and that a wide gulf exists between spoken and literary Welsh. They have been led astray partly by the fact that the standard language allows regional phonological and phonetic variations and partly by the prominence of dialect in the speech activity of even educated speakers of Welsh who will quite commonly use dialect as their register when conversing at ease with their friends.

The problem is regarded as so acute in these circles that a panel was formed a few years ago with the declared aim of bridging the gap between literary and oral Welsh and of offering to schools

a standard spoken Welsh that would be acceptable to learners and native speakers. The panel has now published some of its results in two booklets called Cymraeg Byw (Living Welsh) and their supporters have taken up their suggestions enthusiastically. Some of the suggestions are acceptable enough if confined to oral work among learners; but one can only condemn the basic conception that one can sit down to make random selections of forms from several regional dialects and impose them upon a speech community, especially a community like that of Wales possessing a long and vigorous literary tradition, without regard to the reaction of the community.

The enthusiasm of the supporters of Cymraeg Byw has led them to use it as a written medium on the grounds that there should be no differences between the written and spoken varieties of a language and that it is time to bring written Welsh up to date. The latter has been referred to as Cymraeg Marw (Dead Welsh), a curious misnomer, considering the remarkable blossoming of Welsh literature in the so-called Dead Welsh in the present century.

This development is due to a very proper insistence that learners must be taught to *speak* the language, but it could have serious results: (1) It could open a gulf between the Welsh speaker and his literary inheritance for the first time in the history of the language. This is a serious hazard for a threatened language. (2) It could lead to strife between the advocates and the opponents of these developments. (3) It could produce a loss of standards of correctness among native speakers. This is already discernible in the work of those who write the new forms.

Editors of papers intended for children and young people, both learners and native speakers, have taken up this new Welsh with enthusiasm, and any criticism has been met by the assertion that the critics know nothing about teaching others. Recently, however teachers in areas where the language is strong have begun to voice their opposition in the Welsh press. The new Welsh is so unacceptable to the native-speaking child, they say, that he no longer reads the papers. They give as the main reason that the language is so emasculated that it lacks the necessary colour to make stories written in it interesting. Other teachers complain that Welsh-speaking children are often at a loss to understand it and the teacher has to transpose it into the traditional literary idiom before they grasp its content.

There seems little danger, however, that it will have a permanent life; resistance to it among educated people and literatures

has been growing recently and periodicals and newspapers that seemed on the point of changing over to it have drawn back almost entirely into the traditional written style. If the language had been used as a medium of education, this perverted development would never have occurred.

I come now to the efforts being made to stem the decline of the language and to reverse the trend. These are conducted broadly on two fronts :

(1) That of turning the numerical decline of Welsh speakers into a steadily increasing proportion of the total population.

(2) Extending the use of the language to all aspects of the life of the community.

The first aim can only be achieved by processes of education especially among children. Since 1939, more and more Welsh-medium schools have been established in anglicised areas by groups of parents who have banded together for the purpose. These groups, calling themselves Welsh Schools Parents' Associations, have now joined together into a Union of Welsh Schools' Parents Associations, which is today the guiding spirit of the movement. It co-ordinates the work of local associations and formulates policy for the future on a national scale.

The policy is to establish a nursery school for children between 2½—5 years of age, taught usually by a retired woman teacher. The school may meet several mornings a week. As the children reach five years of age, they enter a Welsh class in some local primary school on the understanding that this is a nucleus of a Welsh school to be housed in its own building when the numbers justify this. The nursery schools are the property of the parents who finance themselves and pay for the transport of the children. Their financial sacrifice is often quite considerable. Children from Welsh and English-speaking homes are accepted and in most cases there is a high preponderance of English speakers. The Local Education Authorities were definitely hostile at first and they can still be very unco-operative.

The parents are not satisfied with Welsh primary education only. They now press for adequate higher grade schools and a more liberal supply of Welsh books. Flintshire in the North East has led the way in establishing Welsh schools and now has four higher grade schools. Glamorgan has the only Welsh higher grade

school in the South established at Rhydfelen near Cardiff and it proposes to establish another in the west of the county.

The full effect of these schools on the language is not yet apparent, but in the last Census areas showing a definite increase in the number of Welsh speakers among school children were Flintshire and Cardiff, a fact attributable to the presence of Welsh schools in these areas..

These schools can be expected in time to re-impose standards of educated spoken Welsh. At present, the situation is rather confused, as though the teachers have no clear idea of the form they should strive for. All too often they seem prepared to accept anything as long as it is Welsh, so that structures heavily influenced by English, which grate on the ears of older people, are tolerated. On the other hand, side by side with these highly unacceptable forms, the children use others belonging to the most formal style of all.

Although always called Welsh schools, these schools are actually bilingual schools, since English and Welsh are used as media. This is regarded with dissatisfaction by a growing minority, which advocates a monolingual Welsh-speaking community as the goal to aim at, and desires the Welsh schools to be fully Welsh. By monolingual community, they do not mean that individuals should be monoglot, but that the life of the community should be lived in its historical language only. This ideal is unlikely to gain popular support in the immediate future, but nothing short of this as a long-term policy will give permanent security to the language.

To extend the range of the language is as important as to increase the numerical strength of its speakers. Lack of official recognition has hampered its adaptation to the needs of contemporary life by preventing it from entering every part of the life of the nation. In other words, the range of subjects that could be talked about in Welsh was restricted, a fact that its opponents have claimed was due to an innate lack in the language itself. This disability could only be removed by a methodical extension of the language into more and more fields where it had not been used before, and lists of the necessary terms had to be made available as a first step. The University of Wales, through its Board of Celtic Studies and its Press Board, has done much good work in this direction by calling together panels of experts to prepare such lists and by publishing them. It has recently published booklets of terms on the following subjects: Biology, Physics and Mathematics, Woodwork, Sewing, Embroidery and Laundry, Games and

Entertainment, the Theatre. The suggested terms often come in for much criticism, but they do provide a basic, or at least an interim, vocabulary for talking about new subjects in the language, and after that the terminology seems to grow of itself.

Another way in which the University helps is by publishing learned journals in which scholars in various fields can write on their own subject in Welsh.

In 1938, philosophy was felt to be outside the range of the Welsh language, but Welsh philosophers took up the challenge by starting the journal Efrydiau Athronyddol (Philosophical Studies). Today, reviewers of this periodical occasionally recall with surprise that philosophy was once thought difficult to write about in Welsh. In the present decade, scientists in the University were moved to tackle the same problem in connection with the sciences, and they now run a periodical called Y Gwyddonydd (The Scientist). This periodical publishes articles on a wide variety of scientific subjects with a glossary of new terms at the end of each number. It is the nature of languages to respond to all the demands made upon them by those who speak them; but Welsh people have been so conditioned to the idea that their language is somehow deficient that they still show surprise when the language enters with such grace and apparent ease into yet another field of human activity.

This brings me to the last point I wish to discuss, namely, the efforts now being made to secure equality of status for Welsh with English in Wales. This is a growing issue [10] whose origin can be traced to the trial in 1936 of three leaders of the Welsh Nationalist Party, now called Plaid Cymru, for burning R.A.F. buildings in Caernarvonshire. The men insisted that the jury at their trial should be Welsh-speakers and much of their evidence was in Welsh. The trial focussed attention on the dismal legal status of the language, and in 1938, a petition for equality of status of Welsh with English was launched. More than 250,000 signatures had been collected, including those of 30 of the 36 Welsh M.P's., when the outbreak of war brought the work to an end. The result was the Welsh Courts Act of 1942, which deleted the " language Clause " of 1536, and gave a Welshman the right to use Welsh in court if he considered himself at a disadvantage in using English. Everything said in court must be translated into English except what the judge or chairman might consider unnecessary, the court to pay for translators. It reasserted, however, that all records must be kept in English, and finally it allowed a Welshman to take the oath in Welsh without having it translated.

The value of this extraordinary Act was minimal and the "disadvantage" Clause ensured that Welsh remained simply a tolerated language in court, while the payment of translators secured for Welshmen a right already enjoyed by foreigners in Britain.

In the years following this Act, Welsh people became increasingly convinced that the improvement of the legal status of Welsh was essential to its defence. In the 1950s a Carmartheshire miner and his family successfully compelled their local authority to print bilingual rates demand forms by refusing to notice the English forms and suffering repeated confiscation of their furniture.

Their action pointed the way to a new kind of campaign, and may have inspired the next move, from a farmer in the same county, which led to the most important legal case in the history of the language and finally to an Act of Parliament. The farmer was to contest a County Council election in 1961 and on the last day for entering nomination papers he submitted a Welsh translation of the usual English forms. The papers were declared invalid by the returning officer and the other contestant declared elected unopposed. The farmer took the case to the Queen's Bench of the High Court of Justice and the judges ruled that the wording of the County and Borough Election Forms Regulations 1951, para.1., which states "at an election of a county councillor the forms in the first schedule hereto or forms to the like effect shall be used with such modifications as circumstances require" fully justified the plaintiff's use of nomination forms in Welsh.

The judgment was widely greeted in Wales as a triumph, and it did mean that Welsh had been acknowledged by the courts as something different from Chinese or Arabic and that its use by a majority in a given area gave it at least some legal status.

In 1963, a Committee, known as the Hughes-Parry Committee[11] was appointed by the Government to inquire into the legal status of Welsh. This Committee produced its Report in 1965, recommending equal validity for Welsh with English, not full equality as Welsh-speakers had hoped. The Government responded in June 1967 with an act entitled "An Act to make further provision with respect to the Welsh Language and references in Acts of Parliament to Wales".

By this Act, a Welshman is permitted to speak Welsh in court, subject to prior notice being given in any court other than magistrates' courts and the necessary provision for interpretation is authorized. Further, a Welsh or bilingual version of official docu-

ments or forms may also be ordered by the appropriate Minister, but the power to make such an order is exercisable by statutory instrument, which shall be laid before Parliament.

The Act has been strongly criticized in Wales as being more retrograde than progressive. It does not remove the necessity to keep records of courts in English, and while it removes the obligation to prove disadvantage, it adds the disability of prior notice. At present, Welsh can be spoken in any court *without* prior notice in cases of disadvantage.

On the night the bill was presented, the Secretary of State for Wales specified that orders for translation of documents would be made according to the demand. This has increased rather than allayed Welsh suspicions that the Act was framed with an eye to delaying full recognition of the language and checking the growing demand for official forms and documents in Welsh ; for it is recalled that the demand for the recently issued Motor Licence Renewal Forms in Welsh was successful only after a civil disobedience campaign during which a number of members of the Welsh Language Society had served prison sentences for refusing to licence their cars until they could do so on Welsh form. Is this to be the the pattern for the future, people want to know, and when the Welsh version becomes available will it be subjected to disabilities that do not apply to the English version[12] as with the Motor Licence form?

Concern is also felt because the Act, while giving no rights to the citizen, puts the initiative into the hands of government ministers, to provide Welsh versions or not as they see fit. Little faith is felt in the goodwill of ministers towards the language and the declared hostility of the Postmaster-General does not augur well for the future working of this provision.

The spearhead of the campaign for official recognition of the language is Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Society), a movement founded in the summer of 1962 by a group of young nationalists. It derived its inspiration from a remarkable radio speech on the fate of the language delivered in the previous February by Mr. Saunders Lewis, former president of Plaid Cymru. In it, the author mercilessly condemned Welsh servility in the matter of the language, and claimed that it could be saved by making the business of local and central government impossible without it. This was work for a movement in the area where Welsh is daily use, demanding forms in Welsh and moving step by step, giving warnings and allowing time for changes.

The Society took up the challenge and began a campaign of civil disobedience on behalf of the language, starting with a demand for summonses in Welsh. Success has been partial, for summonses are forthcoming on request in some cases, but not in others. Among other things, the Society has since demanded the right to register a child's birth in Welsh,[13] bilingual motor licence forms, motor discs, wireless and television licences and members are exhorted to make use of the language on every occasion, official and unofficial.

When members appear before the courts, they receive scant sympathy on the whole, the view of magistrates being that their business is not to inquire into the moral issues involved but simply to give judgment on the admitted breach of the law. Recently, however, some magistrates[14] have acknowledged the real issue by giving absolute discharge to Society members who have appeared before them. This is an important development and could have far-reaching repercussions.

It would be a bold person who would predict the fate of the language; the forces working against it are still strong. But those on its side are no longer negligible and not least among its assets is the growing venturousness of Welsh speakers as reflected in their readiness to fall foul of the law on its behalf and the fact that they no longer think in terms of defence but of attack. There is, in addition, considerable latent sympathy for the language among those who have lost it. In spite of the huge leeway to be made up before the language is safe, therefore, few really doubt any more that it will be saved.

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[1] This does not take into account the number of Welsh speakers in England, which is not inconsiderable.

[2] The language came under official disapproval for the first time in its long history in the so-called Act of Union 1536, actually an act of incorporation in the following provision No. 20:

> Also be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all Justices Commissioners Sheriffs Coroners Escheators Stewards and their Lieutenants, and all other Officers and Ministers of the Law, shall proclaim and keep the Sessions Courts Hundred Leets, Sheriff Courts, and all other Courts in the English Tongue; and all Oaths of Officers Juries and Inquests, and all other Affidavits, Verdicts and Wagers of Law, to be given and done in the English Tongue; and also that from henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welsh Speech or Language shall have or enjoy any Manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales, or other the King's Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language.

The effect of this clause was that advancement to Welsh people was possible henceforth only if they used the English language.

[3] And its sister languages, Cornish and Breton, the latter carried to the Armorican Peninsula by British refugees fleeing the Anglo-Saxon invasion between the 5th and 7th centuries.

[4] Kenneth Jackson, *History and Language in Early Britain*, p. 633.

[5] *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse* (Dr. Thomas Parry), p. vii.

[6] So called because the teachers moved from place to place. They would settle in a locality and stayed there long enough to teach those desiring to learn to read the Bible, usually about three months.

[7] Vowel symbols in Welsh are: a, e, i, o, w, u, y. In Northern Welsh, which has a larger vowel inventory than the Southern variety, the first six symbolize two vowel phonemes each, thought of as long and short vowels by Welsh speakers, though the distinction is not purely one of length. u, y, overlap, with both letters each symbolizing two close central vowels with slight lip rounding and y symbolising schwa in addition.

[8] Welsh Nonconformist sects were all formed by people who left the Anglican Church to establish churches of their own, the older sects, chiefly the Independents and Baptists in Wales, being formed during the 17th century and the Methodists as a result of the Methodist Revival of the 18th century. In the 19th century, the vast majority of the Welsh people belonged to one of the Non-conformist sects which exerted a tremendous influence.

[9] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales*, 1847, Vol. III, p. 59.

[10] Gerald Morgan, *The Dragon's Tongue*, 1966, pp. 64-96.

[11] It took its name from that of the Chairman, Sir David Hughes Parry, Q.C., Ll.D, D.C.L.

[12] The Welsh version of the Motor Licence Form can only be accepted at the Motor Taxation Offices of the appropriate Local Authority, unlike the English form, which can be handed in at Local Post Offices.

[13] It is not easy to get figures, but over 50 children are said at the time of writing, to be unregistered.

[14] Those at Neath, Glamorgan, and at Dolgellau, Meirioneth, and most important of all at Bangor last November when Bangor magistrates gave an absolute discharge to a college lecturer and a Presbyterian Minister for declining to pay for thier wireless licences until Welsh versions were available. The Chairman criticised the Postmaster-General for disregarding the new Welsh Language Act.

Courtship and Marriage in the Classical Period

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In the ancient Tamil Society as in most societies marriage enhanced the social status of both man and woman. Only a married man could fulfil his duties towards his society and the wife was the mistress of the home, indispensable and equal companion and mate for the effective discharge of man's duties. Marriage gave the woman a domain of her own, her home where she found self-expression in her role as wife and mother. Since marriage was considered the natural goal for both man and woman, a spinster was practically non-existent and an unmarried woman of advanced years was also rare. Femininity and womanhood were considered wasted without fulfilment as wives and mothers.

The marriageable age of women during the Cankam period seems to have been roughly between 19 and 24 years. The fairer sex was divided into seven age groups—Pētai, 7 years of less; Petumpai, 11 to 12 years; Mankai, 13 to 17 years; Maṭantai, 19 to 24 years; Arivai, 25 to 30 years; Terivai, 31 to 39 years; Pēriḷampeṇ, 40 years and above.[1] Of these the young women in the maṭantai age group seem to have been considered ripe for courtship and marriage.

You do not play with your bright-jewelled friends.

You do not make garlands from the broad-petalled *neytal.*

You stand alone in the maritime park where flowers bloom.

'Who are you?' I ask humbly.

'Are you a goddess of the large ocean with clear waters,

With beauty that cannot be impaired by the eyes of those who behold?

Are you a maiden who lives near the dark backwaters?

Tell me O maṭantai' said I.

In reply her sharp teeth were disclosed in a smile and her dark eyes were filled with tears.[2]

Maṭantai is the teım used also for a bride.[3] On the other hand in poems that deal with the temporary separation that takes place some time after wedlock, the wife is invariably described as *arivai*, a woman between 25 and 30 years of age.

> Thinking only of you, I came faster than the rainy season,
> O Arivai with a pretty forehead.[4]

Not only is there no evidence of child marriage, but the women are seen to have entered marriage at a mature age when they could know what their union implied and could be fully aware of their duties as wives. Tolkāppiyar mentions that the man and woman entered marriage as equals.[5] (Ramanujam 100-8.) Their equality in birth as well as in virtue, ability, age, beauty, love, kindness, knowledge and wealth was the ideal desired, though not always realised. It was considered ideal again if the man had more of these qualities, or was slightly older in age than the woman.[6] But what is important is that the woman was not considered inferior or the man superior. They were equals who together set up a home and started a family.

Courtship

The outdoor activities of the young women provided them with opportunities to meet young men who likewise were out about their own tasks. The love poems mention many conventional situations in which they meet. It was the practice among the Kuṟava maidens to shout, " Tiger, tiger " while plucking the flowers of the vēṅkai tree. The blooms resemble the tiger skin in colour and they believed that this cry would make the tree bend it's branches low enough to enable them to pick the flowers they wanted. A maiden played under a vēṅkai tree with her companions. Wanting to pluck some of the fresh blooms from the tree, they cried, " Tiger, tiger." A youth, who was out hunting, heard this and thinking that it was a cry for help, ran to their rescue and asked them, " Which way did the tiger go ? " The shy girls hid, one behind the other, without answering him. " Is it possible for lips such as yours to utter falsehood ? ", he asked and went his way. But in the meantime his eyes had met those of the maiden and spoken enough to make her exclaim, " He is indeed a man ! "[7] Then there was the possibility of a maiden being swept away by the stream. A heroine while bathing in one of the falls on her hill slope, lost her balance and was carried downstream. But her frightened companions called for help and a passing youth had jumped into the water and saved her. He had held her to him while carrying

her out of the stream, and since she was a virtuous maiden, she would marry no other but the youth who had saved her.[8] Kuriñjippāṭṭu relates how a nubile maid, after bathing in the cool stream with her friends, sat on the rocks stringing the flowers they had picked. Just then a hunted elephant ran that way, followed by the fierce dogs used for hunting. The frightened girls had nowhere to go but to the young hero who had caused this commotion. He was kind and helpful and naturally she could not help falling in love with a man so brave and considerate.[9] (Thani Nayagam 29).

There were meetings less dramatic and more true to everyday life. The young people usually met on the hill slopes, field or shore while they went about their work or play. One lad saw a girl from the maritime region who had gone a little inland to exchange salt for paddy, and lost his heart to her.[10] A maiden whose listless look must have caused anxiety to those around her, confided to her friend:

> " The young man, wearing garlands of flowers and the heroic anklet,
>
> embraced me while I kept watch over the millet.
>
> Since then I have thought only of that.
>
> This is the illness I am suffering from."[11]

Such meetings led to more meetings and to the growth of love. Then instead of mothers having to send them to keep an eye on the grain or fish, the maidens themselves would create the opportunity. One Kurava maid sent word to her lady's lover that the young daughter of this hill chieftain had been appointed to watch over the ripening millet.[12] This indeed was a clear invitation for him to meet them in her father's field. During courtship the young man gave his beloved gifts of flowers and garments made of leaves and flowers known as tarai utai.[13] They were not necessarily flowers that were rare or hard to obtain. The first poem in *Kuruntokai* depicts the lover as offering a gift of *gloriosa superba* blooms to his lady. The leafy garment was made of any common leaves and sometimes interwoven with a few flowers. These gifts were usually accepted gladly but not always worn. The lad, if he came from a different district, would have brought flowers that were not to be found in the home district of the girl, or made garments from leaves that might have been foreign to the area in which the girl lived. This might certainly arouse the suspicions of a watchful and observant mother. A Kurava maiden found herself in a real dilemma. If she were to accept the leafy garment presented to her

by her lover and wear it, she might have to face the mother's disapproval. On the otherhand, if she were to refuse it, she would be hurting his feelings.[14] A mother noticed her daughter using leaves that were probably not found in the neighbourhood, to adorn her hair. She naturally suspected that the daughter was friendly with some youth who lived in areas where such leaves could be found, or with someone who travelled to those areas. Besides, the girl's behaviour and somatic changes must have indicated to the watchful mother that she was in love. The mother tactfully lets her daughter know that she had guessed the latter's secret and advises her to remain at home. She says,

> " . . . Your teeth have become brighter.
>
> You have cool leaves in your hair. Do not go about with your companions who roam the hill slope,
>
> for on this old hill are deities that could harm you.
>
> Do be careful.
>
> Do not go even to the entrance for you have passed childhood (pētaipparuvam)
>
> and attained puberty (petumpaipparuvam)."[15]

The girls did realise how shrewd and observant the mother or foster mother could be. A maid warned the hero that if the heartless mother were to see her lady blushing for no apparent reason, she would keep her under a custody, more vigilant than that of the victorious Cholas over their booty they had stored away at Kuṭantai.[16]

Quite often the mother heard of her daughter's clandestine affair from the women of the neighbourhood who seemed to have been notorious for gossip. It was possible for the women in the neighbouring fields to notice the young man coming often, to see the girl in her father's field, over which she kept watch, or to the place where she was accustomed to play or gather flowers. This bit of news was soon passed round till it finally reached the mother's ears. A *Naṟṟiṇai* poem describes the women who indulged in gossip. They stand in big or small groups, cast side glances, place their forefinger on their noses in surprise and gossip in the street.[17] This slandering of the daughter's good name naturally angered the mother and her first thought would have been to stop it. There was certainly no possibility of silencing the women but there were two other things she could do. One was to get her married to the

particular youth, but this would not be possible, for it was prescribed custom for the youth or his emissary to ask for the girl's hand and not for her relatives to approach him or his relatives. The only course left for the mother was to stop her daughter from meeting him. This she thought was easily done and so kept her indoors and forbade her going out with her friends. Confining the girl indoors by the mother was known as irceṟittal, literally, "guarding the home" or "locking the home".

The girls naturally resented the idle gossip of the women, which soon led to their being confined to the home, without the opportunity to meet their lovers. A maiden, annoyed with the women and the effect of their gossip said, "Mother who has believed the words of these women who know only evil, has kept me indoors."[18] sometimes the mother hearing the accusations of these women or noticing the changes in her daughter, attempted to end her daughter's friendship by threatening to cane her.

"Believing the words of the women who gossip in the street,
Mother shook the little stick at me
and I am deeply distressed, my dear friend,"[19]

complained a maiden of the maritime region. In such cases the anxious mother might have wanted not only to stop her young daughter's name from being slandered, but also to save her from an unfavourable marriage, for her daughter's own sake. But instances are not wanting where the maiden and her maid were very pleased with those who indulged in such talk. A shepherdess was happy that her name was linked with that of the youth she loved. Now that the neighbourhood knew, her mother and then her father and brothers would soon hear of her clandestine alliance. Being concerned with conventional decorum and her chastity they would get her married to the youth with whom she had become friendly. This would spare the lady and her maid the delicate task of informing the mother of the choice the daughter had made, independantly on her own.[20]

When the lady was confined indoors by her mother, the maid who was the closest friend, was of the greatest help. She devised some secret meetings between the lady and the youth, without the mother's knowledge. But often, she made capital of the confinement and persuaded the youth to believe that it was humanly impossible for him to meet her any more unless he married her. The youth would then approach her parents and ask for her hand.

This would put an end to their clandestine meetings and the anxiety of having to hide it from the others, especially from the mother.[21] The youths often postponed marriage and tried to prolong their clandestine courtship. At such times the maid or friend brought him to his senses either by making him realise the difficulty in arranging premarital meetings or by representing to him the dangers of having to cross the forest at night. This danger, she said, made the lady worry for his safety and this as well as the long separation from him made her pine and become ill and pale.[22] If there were any other proposals of marriage for her lady from other men or families, she dutifully informed the lover so that he would realise his folly in postponing the day and decide to ask for his ladylove's hand.[23] Sometimes, sizing up the situation at home, she took the initiative to suggest to the lover their going away without the knowledge of the girl's parents.[24]

Mate Choice in different regions

Some situations led to the elopement of the couple. They left without anyone's knowledge but the maid's who too would feign ignorance of the departure. The couple who left the girl's house in such a fashion sometimes went to the lad's house where they underwent the traditional marriage ceremony. The mother of a girl who had left with a youth of her own choice, bewailed the fact that the youth's mother had prepared for the wedding ceremony by cleaning and decorating the house in anticipation.[25] Another was sad that the daughter would be married in a new and strange place where the ceremony would be performed by unknown women.[26] Thus it is clear that the couple sometimes went to a new or far off place where the groom's friends or well-wishers performed the ceremony for them. In the case of such marriages performed away from home the parents of the girl were often understanding and willing to take their daughter back with the son-in-law chosen by the daughter herself. Society too accepted and respected the couple. But this was not the only form of marriage or mate selection to be found in the Caṅkam period. If it were the only method of mate choice, then there would have been no place for gossip or the mother's anxiety to keep her isolated at home. In fact, there would have been no need for elopement. Each parent would have found out if each of their children had already chosen a mate for himself or herself and got them married. The girl too, by choosing a man herself, would have been doing the natural and the expected. It was either the fear of disapproval or some inability to communicate their choice to their parents that made the girls consider elopement.

The conventional type of marriage seems to have been the arranged one. An *Akanāṉūṟu* poem refers to it as the old and traditional form of marriage.[27] It was customary for the youth or his people to send some elders to the girl's house to ask her people formally for her hand in marriage. These elders are said to be very old persons with grey hair who walked with the help of a staff. Since the occasion was a happy one, they wore head-dresses made of cloth.[28] They usually came to the prospective bride's house and petitioned her father, brothers and other relatives.[29] But the person who had the final say or one who usually made the decision seems to have been the father.[30] Her people could refuse to give her in marriage and reject the proposal if they found the suitor unsuitable in any way. The parents or guardians of the girl usually looked into the possibility of her happiness after marriage, the youth's family and birth, his virtues and vices and the company he kept. If these were satisfactory, they consented to the proposal.[31]

An *Aiṅkuṟuṉūṟu* poem mentions that a hero from the maritime tracts gave land to the bride's relatives before marriage.[32] This could have been a sort of a gift to the father or family of the girl who gave her to him in marriage. But there is no evidence of any property being given to the girl by her parents. Since each member of the family was considered an economic asset because of the labour he or she provided, there was no need for the donation of property. The marriage of a daughter would have meant a loss of labour to her father and a gain to the youth who wished to marry her. Therefore gifts might have originated to serve as compensation. Even after the practice of giving ' bride price ' had died out, the tradition might have been kept up by the giving and receiving of token gifts. That gifts were given to the father of the girl is seen from other poems as well. A youth attracted by a maiden of the sea-board region says,

> " It is difficult to obtain her (in marriage) even if I give in plenty, good and costly jewels and other presents."[33]

Perhaps it was also the practice among the salt traders for the suitor to supply labour to the girl's father. This could have been the period to pay off by work what they might otherwise have had to give in jewels or in other kind. Such supply of labour could have been an arrangement by which the girl's father was given an opportunity to judge the lad's diligence and industry that was essential to provide well for the family. The same youth adds,

> " Perhaps if I leave my district and join her father, work in the salt fields and dive into the sea with the

float, work with obedience and always abide by him, he might give her to me."[34]

A *Puṟanāṉūṟu* poem speaks of the father who would not give his daughter in marriage even to those who would humbly offer great wealth, comparable to that of the famous Cēra port of Muciṟi. (P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar 298). He would just say " She will not marry one who is not her equal."[35] In this we see the father's wish to give her in marriage to someone whose qualities would suit her qualities. That the arranged marriage was the usual form of mate selection is seen from a number of love poems.[36] Even girls who had made their own choice wished that their lovers would approach their parents and ask for their hands formally, in keeping with the tradition. Then the parents who were ignorant of their friendship would give their consent ; to the neighbours it would seem to be a conventional marriage, arranged in the traditional way and conducted by the girl's parents.[37]

Among the chieftains and kings, a refusal from the girl's father was considered a personal insult. In such cases some of the suitors set out to fight with the fathers and, if they won, married the girls of their choice. One man vowed that he would win the fight and marry the girl for whom he had asked the father, or die in the battle field.[38] But this was not considered a proper or ordinary course of action to follow. The lovers or suitors usually wished to maintain good relations with their prospective in-laws. One love poem shows the noble behaviour of a youth. He had taken his lady-love away without the consent of his people which made the girl's brothers and other relatives go in search of her. Seeing them, the youth, not wishing to face them and thereby give rise to unpleasant situations hid behind a hillock. The girl's people seeing this realised that it would be foolish for them to oppose him who had hidden himself in order to save their sister from having to face the defeat of the lover or her brothers, if there had to be a fight.[39] Again, the loss of life in a war started for personal glory or justification, would not have been a matter of praise even when victory was gained.

A *Puṟanāṉūṟu* poem suggests the two forms of conventional mate selection found in the agricultural regions. A young man attracted by a maiden felt that one of the two events would happen. He would offer the maiden's father rich fields where paddy grew in abundance, together with worthy riches in return for his daughter's hand. If his suit was not accepted, he would go to war, set fire to the country and win her in battle. But this he felt was unkindly and therefore an unmanly act, for he would have to kill others for

no better reason than his personal happiness.[40] The Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍya kings after waging a war on Pāri, left his daughters without a home. Earlier, they had asked for the girl's hands in marriage and had been refused. This as well as the three kings' jealousy of Pāri's fame made them furious enough to start a war, without thinking that it was being waged for their personal ends. At the end of the war, Kapilar, a friend of Pāri and a poet as well, took it upon himself to find husbands for Pāri's daughters. He went from chieftain to chieftain who refused him for fear of inviting the wrath of the three great kings.[41] This practice of a girl's friend or guardian assuming responsibility for marriage does not seem to have been a common procedure. It is found only in the story of Kapilar and this was certainly an exceptional circumstance. (Kailasapathy 202.)

The herdsmen of the mullai or pastoral region had yet another method of mate-selection, peculiar to their way of life. Their daily life consisted of looking after cows, bulls and sheep and to be a successful cowherd, a man had to be strong and clever enough to control them. In the earlier days when domestication of animals had just started, the taming of wild cattle must have been very important for the setting up of the new home. The girl's parents naturally expected these qualities from those who came as suitors and they might have had to prove that they were strong and able to tame the wild animals that were necessary for the setting up of the home, cows, bulls or buffaloes, and to protect and provide for the wife and children. It was later an important quality in a cowherd so it was held that a lass of that community would not think of marrying even in her next birth, a man who was afraid of the fatal horns of a bull.[42] When a baby girl was born in a shephard community, a calf was untied and left to grow wild in the sheds. When she came of age to be married, the suitors were asked to tame it and to ride astride it. Such feats were usually held together so that there were three or four bulls to be subdued and the same number of maidens to be won. *Cilappatikāram* of a later age mentions seven.[43] This occasion was celebrated as a festival. It was known as the festival for capturing the bulls—ēṟu kōḷ viṟā. The people thronged to the scene of the feat and even the girls whose wild animals were to be subdued were there to watch. Those who took part wore red clothes and were attractive.[44] This shows that the names of the owners of the animals were publicised earlier so that those who were interested in them would come prepared for the occasion. It is even possible that it would have been the talk of the district for days before and after the event. The youth who was successful in capturing the animal and bringing it under

control was promised the girl in marriage. The actual ceremony took place later in the girl's house. In case youth was friendly with a maiden, he had to be doubly sure of victory. This and the fact that only the brave and the victorious were given the girls in marriage and held in esteem, made the youths train themselves for this sport to tame the wildest of bulls so that they hardly ever failed when they tried in good earnest.

The Tamil idea of chastity and the fact that love marriage as well as the conventional, arranged marriage existed side by side, sometimes brought about complications. The parents unaware of their daughter's choice and believing with parental indulgence that their girl was too young or childish to make a choice of her own, would consent to a proposal from a young man whom they found to be good or satisfactory. When the daughter came to know of her parents' plans for her, she quietly left her parental home with the man of her own choice.[45] Sometimes, to avoid the necessity for elopement, the maid or the closest friend would inform the mother of the young lady's love for a particular youth so that they would accept his proposal when he came with one, and reject the others[46].

The Later Period

In the *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, the ideal put up is love at first sight and the love marriage. In fact, marriage or kaṟpu was considered the result of love or kaḷavu. Some authors argue from one distich that the bride was purchased like a property or livestock. They take the word taṟkoṇṭāṉ as proof.[47] The term koṇṭāṉ is also used to mean one who buys or obtains as found in compounds with the nouns kātal or aṉpu both meaning love, *e.g.*, aṉpu koḷḷutal to have affection or love for someone and kātal koḷḷutal to fall in love with someone. Hence the term koṇṭāṉ should be taken to mean one who is in love and taṟkoṇṭāṉ as one who has chosen to love her, and has chosen to marry her. This is in keeping with Vaḷḷuvar's last section, dealing with the love of a youth and a maiden for one another. Another argument used by those who take a commercial view is that the wife of another man is referred to as ' piṟaṉ poruḷ ' and this is taken literally to mean ' the property of another '.[48] But in his chapter on the obtaining of children Vaḷḷuvar mentions that the children are a man's wealth or fortune (tam poruḷ eṉpa tam makkaḷ)[49] and in this usage there is no idea of barter. We also know that it is customary to compare pretty and resourceful women to rich cities that are a source of pride to the rulers of the district.[50]

Thus by 'porul' Valluvar must have meant the wife who was the partner in life, who was a man's wealth or treasure. Besides just as wealth was necessary to live well and to discharge his duties as a householder, so was his wife important to manage his wealth, to look after him and his home and to help him in his duties as a householder.

During the *Cilappatikarām* age the picture was more or less the same as that during the Cankam period. Though slight changes in custom were found, they were chiefly in the cities. The kuravas of the hilly tracts seem to have kept to their old ways. Love marriage seems to have been quite common and each girl who was either afraid that there might be any opposition from the parents or that she might be forced to marry a different youth, prayed to Murukan, the god of the hills to help her. She prayed that her lover might approach her parents and that with their consent a proper ceremony would be conducted before the people of the district. The marriage to a man not chosen by her is called a 'faulty marriage', pirai manam and to the man of her choice as the 'good or the right one', nan manam[51]. The Kānalvari lyrics show that love marriage prevailed also among the people of the maritime tracts. The youths met the girls on the shores and beaches and courted them with presents like the flowers of the region and pearls.[52]

Among the cowherds the practice of growing a particular bull as a wild one and marrying the girl to the man who later tamed it was still prevalent. The particular bull for each maiden was marked and looked after in the sheds. Just before the sport of capture the bull was pointed out and its mistress mentioned so that those who were interested chose the bull to be tamed, by the girls whom they wished to marry.[53]

But arranged marriages seem to have been more popular especially in the towns and cities. This cannot be said to be a new form of mate-selection but it was certainly in keeping with the new trends. The marriage of Kōvalan and Kannaki was an arranged one. The parents discussed it and decided that their children be united in marriage. They looked into the family, its wealth, the age of their children to be married, beauty and character. But we see a change in the marriage age. Kannaki was twelve and Kōvalan sixteen,[54] a difference of six to seven years when compared to the marriageable age of the Cankam women. But this does not mean that it was a child marriage in the modern sense. Kannaki was twelve and therefore in her *petumpai* period of life (11–12 years)

or her early *mañkai* age (13–18 years). This seems to have been a reasonably mature age considering the fact at the same age Mātavi was considered old enough to live as the mistress of the man who was wealthy enough to buy the necklace from her maid.[55] Puberty must have set in before they were twelve, for a mother in an *Akanāṉūṟu* poem tells the daughter who had reached the 11–12 age group that she is no longer a child but a maiden.[56]

The *Maṇimēkalai* uses the terms kātalaṉ 'lover' and kātali, 'the beloved', very often.[57] But these terms are used to denote the husband and the wife respectively. This does not in any way refer to the form of mate selection that prevailed at that time. The women were kept indoors and honourable women are described as those who stay at home, maṉaiyuṟai makaḷir.[58] Hence there was no opportunity for love before marriage. Even if there were, pre-marital love was condemned and the honour or chastity of the woman involved was considered questionable. This is made clear by the story of Vicākai narrated in the *Maṇimēkalai* epic. She was a woman of great beauty and charm. Since childhood her cousin (her father's sister's son) who was an orphan lived with her in the same house, as her father's ward. Having grown up together, they did love one another. But people as usual talked about their love for one another and even said that they had decided to get married according to the ghandharva form of marriage. Vicākai, hearing of this, was greatly perturbed. She left the house unadorned and went to the temple where she prayed to the deity and asked it to protect her good name. The deity knowing her purity put up its hand and proclaimed to the people who were present, "O citizens of this great city, she is capable of bringing down the rain". Vicākai then left the place and returned home where she vowed that she would spend her life in the nunnery as a spinster and show the people how wrong they were in saying that they were married according to the ghandharva rites. She hoped to marry her cousin in her next birth.[59] This shows that Buddhist society's attitude to pre-marital love was different from that of the Tamils. In a society where elopement was once condoned or even considered natural, the love of cross-cousins who could marry was not tolerated. Again the very attitude of Vicākai seems to show that she was ashamed of being married to him with the people knowing that they were once in love, whereas the Cañkam woman would have married the man of her own choice to prove her chastity. In Buddhist circles the stress was on more subordination and less freedom, an attitude which is also found in the Buddhist and Jain works among the Eighteen minor works.

The Marriage Ceremony

The marriage season among the kuravas or mountain folk seems to have been the time when the millet was harvested. It was also the time when the vēṅkai (East Indian Kino tree –Pterocarpus Marsupium) was in full bloom. The Kuravas with the fieldwork done for the year, had the time to spend in marriage feasts and at the earlier times, when the large trees served as shady protection the vēṅkai in full bloom must have provided a beautiful place for the wedding ceremony.

The herdmen of the mullai tracts seem to have decorated their houses by painting the walls with red soil and spreading sand outside, in the compound. The female buffalo is also mentioned in a *Kalittokai* poem. But its exact place in the ceremony is not known. It could have been a present to the new couple from the parents of the bride.[60] In *Kalittokai* we find more frequent references to Puranic stories. It is therefore possible that this marriage ceremony refers to the third of the eight forms of marriage, accepted by the people of the north and may have been an ancient Dravidian custom Adhira form of marriage, requires the parents of the girl to place her between a cow and a bull, during the ceremony. This practice could have easily spread among the shepherds.

In the agricultural tracts with the cities and sophistication, the day and time for the wedding seems to have been fixed with the help of astrology. The day on which the moon, free from the influence of inauspicious stars, was reached by the Hyedies asteriam, Rōhiṇi was considered most suitable.[61] The Puranic story is that the moon married all the twenty seven asterisms who were said to be the daughters of Daksha rishi. Of these Rōhiṇi was the one most loved by the moon. This must have been the cause for the popularity of this particular day for weddings. In a society where polygyny and prostitution prevailed, it was natural for the brides and their well-meaning parents to do all that was possible to make sure that the husband always loved and cherished her. Omens of birds were also resorted to, but the exact nature of consultation or what was determined by this omen is not known.[62] Early dawn when the darkness was dispelled by the rising sun was the time chosen.[63] This might have been symbolic of the new life the couple were about to start and the joy that everyone hoped was in store for them. The ceremony invariably took place at the bride's home except when the couple decided to get married without

the consent of the girl's parents. A *Kalittokai* poem mentions that the bride's house was painted with red soil and the courtyard spread with fresh sand.[64] An Akanāṉūṟu poem describes how the girl's parents prepared for her wedding by decorating the house, and spreading beautiful white sand in front of the house.[65] Usually a large tent was put up in front of the house to accommodate the numerous friends and relatives who would attend the ceremony. The house was swept clean, and festoons of flowers hung up as decoration.[66] Outside in the tent sand fetched from the nearby river bank or seashore was spread to add to the gay, festive look.[67] The glamour as well as the fuss in any wedding ceremony is usually centered round the bride. This is more so in a society that does not allow divorce or widow remarriage. The most important parts in the ancient Tamil wedding were the bathing and the giving away of the bride. Elderly women carried water in pots on their heads and in new, broad ones in their hands. To this water they had added paddygrains and flowers like that of the oleander. As they passed these pots of water in order, four others who were blessed with children received them and bathed the bride.[68] Then her wet hair was dried and made fragrant with the smoke of sandalwood before it was dressed for the occasion.[69] The bride was made to wear new clothes[70] and adorned with numerous jewels [71] and fresh flowers.[72] A white thread to which vākai leaves and the cool fragrant tuber of the hiralli grass had been tied was also worn by the bride, but there is no indication as to where it was worn.[73] The bride thus dressed was brought by the relatives to the ten where the bridegroom and the others attending the ceremony were present.[74] She was taken by the hand and given to the groom, but it is not clear as to who gave her away.[75] The Akanāṉūṟu poem and the Kuriñcipāṭṭu only mention that she was given away by her people. According to a *Kalittokai* poem, the bride's name is mentioned during the ceremony.[76] It is possible that the father or guardian gave her away and while doing so said formally to the groom, that he gave his daughter (name) to be his wife and enjoined him to love and protect her. The bride however was advised and blessed by other women. "Swerve not from the path of chastity and be of good help to him. May you always be loved by him who has accepted you in marriage." [77] There is no mention of the presence of a priest or any religious rites except the honouring of the deity.[78] There was no priest to officiate and the whole ceremony seems to have been in the hands of elderly and experienced women who moved around the place happily.[79]

The marriage feast was not confined to the wedding day alone. It started with the preparations for the happy event. Friends and

relatives were invited orally by announcing that their son or daughter was getting married on that particular day. Honey was served to all those who came to the house.[80] On the actual day of the wedding all the guests present were served with food. There seemed to have been no restrictions about the food that should be provided at the wedding feast. One *Akanāṉūṟu* poem mentions that rice cooked together with black-gram to a pulpy consistency was served.[81] . From another we gather that white rice cooked with ghee and meat was served to the guests.[82] Musicians were also invited and they added to the festivity with their music. The traditional drum for a wedding was the tabour or the muṛavu, though the large drum or muracam was also sounded.[83]

In *Kalittokai* which is of a later date than most of the Caṅkam works we come across a wedding at which a Brahmin officiated. He had lighted the sacred fire and the couple were asked to walk around it.[84] By the time of the *Cilappatikāram* the marriage ceremony had become more brahminical—at least in the higher circles. The marriage of Kōvalaṉ and Kaṇṇaki took place on the auspicious day when the Rōhiṉi asterism reached the moon. It was solemnised under a blue canopy decorated with pearls. A brahmin or Jain elder officiated at the ceremony and the couple had to walk around the sacred fire just as it is done today.[85] Women still played an important role in the ceremony. Before the wedding they went out on elephants to announce the marriage of Kōvalan to Kaṇṇaki and to issue invitations.[86] Since no mention of any written statement is found it is possible that it was done orally as had been the custom till very recently. During the religious part of the ceremony they sang praises to the couple, while others brought scented powders, pastes, incense, flowers, lighted lamps, jewels and the niṟai-kutam. Once the religious ceremony was over, they strew some flowers and blessed the bride with the words,

"May you be never separated from the man you marry." [87]

A society that had strict ideas of a chaste wife and womanhood must have had some means of differentiating a married woman from an unmarried one. This would not have been necessary in a society that kept its women indoors for there would be very little chance for a man to see a woman who was not his sister, cousin or niece. But in a society that did not confine its womenfolk to the hearth and in which love before marriage was prevalent this was a necessity. It is not clear what this mark of differentiation was, but the poems of the Caṅkam period give us an idea. *Tolkāppiyar* refers to a ceremony called karaṇam that preceded the married

life which he calls kaṟpu, but does not mention the special symbol that marked a married woman from the others.[88] In *Puṟanāṉūṟu* a poet sings of the ornament that was too dear for the wives to give away,[89] dear not in its monetary value but in its social and sentimental value. It is indeed strange that the poems which deal with the ancient Tamil marriage do not mention any such ornament. The poems that describe a widow invariably show her as devoid of all ornaments. But specific attention is drawn to her hands without bangles.[90] The plight of a bard and his troupe at the death of their patron was compared to that of women who had discarded their bangles—*i.e.* widows.[91] One of the Ten Idylls, *Neṭunalvāṭai* depicts the queen as separated from her lord. She had discarded her costly silk garments for cotton ones. She had also put away all her ornaments except for her conch bangles.[92] In *Cilappatikāram*, when Iḷaṅkō paints the pen-picture of the lonely Kaṇṇaki, he clearly brings out every part of her body that was unadorned her feet, waist, ears, forehead and hair. But the hands or wrists receive no such mention for they must have been adorned by at least a conch bangle or two.[93] Again, she is said to have given away all her jewels one by one except a pair of anklets of delicate workmanship. But when later she left Matura, a widow, she broke her bangles at Koṟṟavai's temple at the western gates of the city.[94] The bangles were not mentioned, obviously because they were not to be classified with the other pieces oi jewellery which could be worn or removed as one pleased. The bangles were to be worn as long as the husband lived.

This ornament only differentiated the widows from the others. All other women wore bangles though the unmarried ones were tree to take them off if they wished. To distinguish, therefore a married women from an unmarried one the *cilampu* was removed before the wedding. This, besides letting anyone who saw her, know that she was married might have been symbolic of her giving up the careless, noisy play of childhood to become the responsible mistress of her new home. This is very much like the Roman custom which required the bride to surrender her toys and her childhood dress before she was dressed for the wedding ceremony.[95] This removal of the cilampu is mentioned in many Caṅkam poems,[96] but scholars like Cōmacuntara Pāratiyār contend that it only mentions the washing of the bride's feet by the elderly women as a sign of welcoming her into her new home. The word kaṟīi in the phrase cilampu kaṟīi ayartal is not explained as the variation of kaṟittu *i.e.* removal but as that of kaḻuvi *i.e.* wash.[97] Though both meanings are possible in the context of most of the poems, an *Akanāṉūṟu* poem shows beyond doubt that it means the removal

for the exact term kaṟittal is used in the past tense, negative-kaṟiyāḷ. A mother whose daughter had gone away with the man of her choice is sad that the girl had not celebrated the removal of the anklet in her own house.[98] Since it is not mentioned as a part of the wedding ceremony in the two poems, it must have been a separate ceremony held a day or two earlier than the marriage. This is clear from the words of another mother whose daughter too had gone away with the youth she loved. Having been deprived of the pleasure of witnessing the anklet removing ceremony she is eager to conduct the marriage ceremony and feast at her home. So she asks, "O, why not tell his mother to solemnise the wedding here, now that the cilampu removal was held at her place? "[99] Apart from these evidences to the removal of the cilampu by women who were about to get married, we also find that no poem of the Caṅkam period describes a married woman as wearing it. Only children engaged in careless play, with the beads or pebbles within the ornament making a tinkling noise, and the courtesans are depicted as wearing them.[100] Men after coming of age removed their kiṇkiṇi which they wore as boys and wore the kaṟal as a sign of manhood.[101] The removal of the cilampu must have had the same significance. *Paripāṭal* and *Cilappatikāram* no doubt mention the cilampu as an ornament to be worn by married women and even consider them as important pieces of jewellery.[102] But these two works belong to a later date than the other Caṅkam works except the Kalittokai. It is therefore possible that this custom was introduced later just like the ritual of a priest officiating at the wedding ceremony.

Widows

The greatest misery that could be fall the ancient Tamil woman was widowhood, for with her husband, went the central motif of her life. She no longer dressed in lovely clothes or adorned herself with ornaments.[103] Even the use of flowers that were right for everyone were not right for her. The scented pastes and powders that served as cosmetics were of no use to her any more. In most cases the long dark tresses on which the Caṅkam woman lavished much care were cut or shaved off.[104] This seems cruel by modern standards, but it is in keeping with the old ideal of a woman adorning herself only to please her husband.

She did not pay any attention to her clothes or ornaments even while her husband was away for a short-time. The *Neṭunalvāṭai* depicts the queen as wearing only a few conch bangles when her lord was away fighting. She was dressed in cotton clothes

instead of the silk ones that would have been more suitable for her position as queen. Her hair lay uncombed about her forehead and on her breasts.[105] In *Puṟanāṉūṟu* we come across Kaṇṇaki, the wife of Pēkaṉ. Pēkaṉ spent his time with another woman in Nallūr and forgot his home. The grieved Kaṇṇaki took no interest in her appearance. Seeing this, poets who had enjoyed the patronage of Pēkaṉ tried to advise him and to persuade him to return to his wife. The poet Aricilkiḻār told him :

> " Let your wealth consist of rare ornaments. We care not to receive them O Pēkaṉ ! who kills only in battle. If you would reward us for singing your good country to the accompaniment of the small yāḻ, tie your horses to your chariot, so that she who is immersed in grief because you did not give (your love) will scent her dark tresses resembling a bunch of peacock's plumes and adorn it with cool fragrant garlands."[106]

The origin of these customs is not easy to decide. Some women who were separated from their husbands might have found no pleasure in or incentive to indulge in such personal luxuries and this might have been passed down as tradition. It is also possible that the society which has set up a high ideal for womanhood and chastity imposed these rules to maintain it. But the widow was not an economic burden and was therefore at the mercy of no one. She was free to take up some small industry or other to keep herself occupied or to earn her meagre living. Widows are described as tousing or spinning cotton. The white, foamy clouds are compared in *Naṟṟiṇai* to the soft, fine cotton toused by the industrious widows.[107]

The lot of the widow in the upper class society was unbearable. She had to sleep on the bare floor spread with pebbles. She did not even use a mat.[108] She bathed in chilly water and ate simple food,[109] which consisted of white rice probably left over from the previous day, for water is said to be squeezed out of the rice by hand. The white rice was usually that of the water lily. The side dish consisted of some sort of spinach or other, cooked with sesame paste and tamarind. She did not touch rich articles of food like ghee. Even salt must have been considered a luxury for it is not mentioned as being added to the spinach dish with tamarind.[110] Even this simple food was not taken regularly. A widow has expressed her lot in a short touching poem :

> " It is indeed a pity. The small white lily provided, in my youth, the ceremonial dress of leaves (given by my

lover). Now that my rich husband is no more, it provides me with grain for my irregular meals." [111]

The general idea is that they fasted and mourned their lot. This penitential life also seems to be in keeping with that prescribed by Manu and Yajñavalkya who say that 'the widow must not even mention the name of another man after her husband's death ; she may spend her days of widowhood by emaciating her body by living on pure flours ; roots and fruits.[112]

This sad lot of the widow cannot be said to be the result of women's low position in society. In ancient Rome where a woman is said to have been under the control of the husband by law, she was not expected to live the penitential life of a widow. She was in fact punished by law if she was still unmarried after one year of her husband's death. This was particuarly so if the widow was young and childless, for children were what the state needed.[113] Even in North India the childless widow was allowed the practice of nyoga. This served as a substitute for widow remarriage for by nyoga she could have a son by her dead husband's brother or a relative on the husband's side.[114] This son was considered the legal heir to the property of the deceased man, on whose behalf he was expected to perform religious sacrifices. Neither widow remarriage nor any practice comparable to nyoga was found in the ancient Tamil country. Most of the widows were happy to die with their husbands. A Royal poetess, the wife of Pūtappāṇtiyaṉ, found it better to die in the pyre similar to that in which her lord's body had been cremated, than to mourn her lot for the rest of her life.

> "The pyre kindled in the cremation grounds may be frightening to you. But now that my broad-shouldered lord is no more, the cool waters of the pond where the lotus buds open their luxurious petals and the raging flames of the pyre are alike to me." [115]

Kuṟuntokai depicts a monkey that had lost its mate. Not wishing to outlive him she left the young ones in the charge of her relatives and jumping from a high cliff, killed herself.[116] This may sound like poetic fancy but it is possible that a social custom was attributed to a monkey. Women who did not wish to live the sad life of a widow, but at the same time thought of their children, might have left them in the care of relatives before immolating themselves. Another woman wishing to be buried in the same urn as her dead lord asked the potter to make a larger one.

> "Potter! Potter! Like a stray lizard on the spikes of an axled cart, I have traversed many a forest with him. Have pity on me and make his funeral urn large enough (to hold me too)." [117]

This shows the widow's unwillingness to live a lonely life after having had a companion with whom to share life. Though the practice of women killing themselves at the death of their husbands was prevalent, it was not the rule. Often it was discouraged. The elders, probably of the Pāṇṭiyaṉ court and friends are said to have dissuaded the widow of Pūtappāṇṭiyaṉ from committing suttee but to no avail. This immolation of the widows had no religious significance in the Tamil country then. There is no reference to any religious sanction or the promise of heavenly bliss after death. Neither is the desire of the Ancient Tamil suttee similar to that of the Nzakra women of Africa, who were glad to die with their husbands because the society would admire them; they followed their husbands to serve them; 'they were beautiful, they were true wives! All women envied their fate.'[118]

The picture was not very different in the *Cilappatikāram* period. The widows still entered the funeral pyre with their husbands, or killed themselves by jumping from high cliffs. The goddess that guarded the city of Maturai—*Maturāpatitteyvam* related to Kaṇṇaki the story of her earlier life. Her husband had unknowingly been the cause of the death of an innocent man at the hands of the king. That man's wife Nīlī killed herself by jumping from a high hill after cursing the man who had been instrumental in the unjust punishment of her lord, as well as cursing his family.[119] This form of death is described in the *Kuṟuntokai* poem in connection with a monkey. Those who did not die with their husbands accepted the penitential life prescribed by social convention. They are said to observe fasts and rules that were painful or sorrowful.[120] They also went from one holy tank or temple to another praying for an early death and a speedy reunion with the dead husbands.[121] There was however another way open to them—that of joining one of the many religious orders. Mātavi hearing of the death of Kōvalaṉ, did not wish to live the life she was accustomed to. She renounced her wealth and her arts and receiving religious instructions from the Buddhist teacher Aṟavaṇa Atikaḷ, became a nun.[122]

By the time the *Maṇimēkalai* was composed, suttee was extolled as the act of a chaste wife, at least by a section Tamil Society. Women who died with their husbands were honoured just as the

deceased kings or sages. Little memorials were built for them in brick.[123] But the more common practice among women was to accept the hard life of a widow and to spend the time in penance and prayer, so that they might be reunited with their husbands in their next birth.[124]

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[1] Tam. Lexicon. Though this division as such occurs later, the terminology may be traced to the Cañkam period.
[2] Nar. 155.
[3] Malai. 30-31.
[4] Aink. 492 : 4-5.
[5] Tol : Porul 90 : 3-4.
[6] Tol : Porul 269.
[7] Akam. 48.
[8] Kali 59 : 1-6.
[9] Kurinjip.
[10] Akam. 390.
[11] Nar. 128 : 7-11.
[12] Nar. 102 : 7-9.
[13] Akam. 20 : 9-13 ; Puram. 248.
[14] Nar. 359 : 3-6.
[15] Akam. 7 : 1-7.
[16] Akam. 60 : 12-15.
[17] Nar. 149 : 1-3.
[18] Akam. 20 : 12-13.
[19] Nar. 149 : 3-5.
[20] Kali. 105.
[21] Kurun. 244 ; Akam. 60 ; Nar. 57.
[22] Kali. 38 : 10-26 : 46 : 10-27 ; 52 : 7-25.
[23] Aink. 180.
[24] Akam. 221.
[25] Akam. 195 : 1-5.
[26] Akam. 385 : 17-18.
[27] Akam. 112 : 16.
[28] Kurun. 146.
[29] Kali. 107 : 33-35.
[30] Aink. 6 : 5-6.
[31] Kurinj. 30-31.
[32] Aink. 147.
[33] Akam. 280 : 5-6.
[34] Akam. 280 : 6-11.
[35] Puram. 343 : 10-13.
[36] Kurun. 351 : 4-5 ; Nar. 393 : 9-13 ; Aink. 6 : 5-6.
[37] Kali. 41.
[38] Puram. 341 : 10-15.
[39] Aink. 312.
[40] Puram. 344.
[41] Puram. 200, 201.
[42] Kali. 103 : 43-44.
[43] Cilap. 17.
[44] Kali. 102 : 37.
[45] Akam. 221 : 1-4.
[46] Aink. 168 ; Kali. 39 ; Kurinji.

47 Kural. 56 ; T. P. M. *Valluvarum Makaḷirum*, p. 131.
48 Kural. 141 ; T. P. M. *Valluvarum Makaḷirum*, p. 132.
49 Kural. 63.
50 Akam. 60 : 7 ; 10 : 13 ; 115 : 5-6.
51 Cilap. 24 : Verses 15-18.
52 Cilap. 7 : Verses 5-23 ; 28-46.
53 Cilap. 17 : Verses 6-13.
54 Cilap. 1 : 21-29 ; 31-42.
55 Cilap. 3 : 10-11 ; 164-169.
56 Akam. 7 : 1-4.
57 Maṇi. 11 : 99 ; 13 : 20 ; 18 : 128, 132 ; 26 : 99-100.
58 Maṇi. 16 : 77.
59 Maṇi. 22 : 80-100.
60 Kali. 114 : 12-14.
61 Akam. 86 : 6-7 ; 136 : 3-5.
62 Akam. 136 : 3.
63 Akam. 86 : 6-7 ; 136 : 3-5.
64 Kali. 114 : 12-14.
65 Akam. 221 : 2-3.
66 Akam. 86 : 4 ; 221 : 2.
67 Akam. 86 : 3.
68 Akam. 86 : 8-16.
69 Akam. 141 : 12-14.
70 Akam. 86 : 21 ; 136 : 20.
71 Akam. 136 : 17.
72 Kali. 114 : 3.
73 Akam. 136 : 10-14.
74 Akam. 136 : 16-18.
75 Kurinjip. 231-232.
76 Kali. 114 : 3-4.
77 Akam. 86 : 13-14.
78 Akam. 136 : 6.
79 Akam. 86 : 9.
80 Akam. 221 : 1-4.
81 Akam. 86 : 1-2.
82 Akam. 136 : 1-2.
83 Puram. 194 : 2 ; Kali. 70 : 10 ; Akam. 136 : 7.
84 Kali. 96 : 3-5.
85 Cilap. 1 : 50-53.
86 Cilap. 1 : 43-44.
87 Cilap. 1 : 54-63.
88 Tolkāppiyam. Porulatikaram. 140.
89 Puram. 127 : 5.
90 Puram. 250, 253.
91 Puram. 238 : 6-7.
92 Neṭunal. 141-142.
93 Cilap. 4 : 47.
94 Cilap. 23 : 181-183.

[95] Balsdon, J. P. V. D. ; *Roman Women*. p. 182.

[96] Aink. 399 : 1-3 ; Akam. 385 : 17-18 ; 315 : 8 ; Nar. 297 : 10-11.

[97] Cōmasuntara Pāratiyār ; *Paḻantamiḻ Nāṭu*. p. 12.

[98] Akam. 315 : 8.

[99] Aink. 399 : 1-2.

[100] Akam. 383 : 11-12 ; Kali. 69 : 8-9 ; Akam. 96 : 11.

[101] Puram. 77 : 1.

[102] Pari. 20 : 80-85.

[103] Puram. 238 : 6 ; 253 : 4.

[104] Puram. 25 : 12-14 ; 250 : 4 ; 261 : 17.

[105] Neṭunal. 130-138.

[106] Puram. 146.

[107] Naṟṟiṇai. 353 : 1-2.

[108] Puram. 246 : 9.

[109] Puram. 62 : 14.

[110] Puram. 246 : 5-8.

[111] Puram. 248.

[112] Prabhu, Pandharinath—*Hindu Social Organisation*, p. 196.

[113] Balsdon, J. P. V. D.—*Roman Women*, p. 221.

[114] Indra—*The status of women in ancient India*, p. 108 (Manu. IX-60).

[115] Puram. 246 : 11-15.

[116] Kurun. 69 : 1-4.

[117] Puram. 256.

[118] Paulme, Denise (Ed.) *Women of Tropical Africa*. Nzakra women by Ann Laurentin, p. 147.

[119] Cilap. 23 : 165.

[120] Cilap. 18 : 35.

[121] Cilap. 18 : 39.

[122] Cilap. 29. Verse 7.

[123] Maṇi. 9 : 55-59.

[124] Maṇi. 2 : 46—48.

Beginning of Civilization in South India

H. D. SANKALIA

Introduction

By ' civilization ' one normally understands a refined culture, state, society or individual. Originally this word was applied by Greeks to foreigners who were rude, uncultured and above all illiterate, not knowing the art of writing. From this *stricto sensu*, or original meaning, archæologists, anthropologists and culture-historians have slightly deviated. These scholars use the word ' civilization ' primarily to definite a stage in the material and cultural development of man, when man had emerged from the stage of food-collection (by hunting, fishing and gathering wild fruits and edible plants and roots) and had settled down at one place and acquired the art of agriculture, domestication of animals, making of pottery, houses—some of them monumental like temples, fortifications (even palaces)—and above all learned the art of writing. The last—knowledge of writing or literacy—is regarded (was regarded until recently) as one of the fundamental requirements which helped a culture-historian to distinguish between various kinds of cultures discovered by archæologists or described in ancient literatures of the world.

Thus the Vedic and the earliest Greek ways of life or society for all their richness—heroic deeds and descriptions of gods and goddesses—were regarded as barbarous and not civilized. Even now the UNESCO *History of Civilization* following the anthropological definition of civilization describes the Vedic period in our history as barbarous or semi-barbarous. As opposed to this, the Indus or the Harappan Culture is called the Indus Civilization, because here for the first time we see not only a well-organized society, but monumental buildings and the first traces of writing.

However, one should realize that there are intermediate stages between preliterate and literate stages of development and also other important criteria in the material and cultural development of man. It is these that we have to take into consideration for understanding the beginning of civilization in South India.

" South India " for at least 2,000 years and more is understood to be the country south of the Narmada or properly country south of the river Krishna. This is the ancient *Dakṣiṇā-patha*. This definition of South India is not confined to the extreme south, at present—included in the district of Tirunelveli or the country included in Tamilnadu. Without further academic discussion, I would include all that country in South India which is geologically the oldest part in India and in the world. This is the area which extends from Raichur in the north and terminates somewhere at Rameshvaram ; on the east and the west the coastal tracts are comparatively recent (geologically). This vast region is of course divisible geologically into two or three further sub-zones. But this is not materially important to us. What concerns us most are the various stages which we can discern in this vast area beginning from the very earliest stage when man was a hunter and then advanced progressively to the stage when he begun to live in permanent houses, domesticated animals, had pots and pans and had taken the first conscious step in agriculture.

Fortunately owing to the work during the last thirty years and more we are able to see, however dimly, the various stages by which man reached the stage of civilization.

First Stage

The earliest stage is seen not only in and around Madras in the district of Chingleput, where the first tools of man were found, but in almost all the districts of Andhra and the eastern districts of Mysore and the northern districts of Tamilnad, excluding the far south. In all these areas, we have got large, crude stone tools, called handaxes and cleavers by archæologists. Whatever be the name of these tools, there is no doubt that with these heavy tools man could perform some of the most elementary functions and eke out a living. He could cut trees, dig out roots, and skin and chop the animals he hunted. Unfortunately, we have no evidence so far of the animals he hunted at this time nor of the trees he felled and the forests in which he lived. So this earliest stage of man remains comparatively very, very dim for us. At the most we can say that the climate in South India at that time was far more humid than it is today, so that all the rivers carried huge boulders in the

river bed and these were deposited all along their bed when their carrying power was reduced. In Madras or around Madras, the climate was far more humid earlier, because here we have got deposits called laterite. These normally form when the rainfall is over 100 inches, and is followed by a long, dry period. If we are allowed to extrapolate the evidence from Maharashtra, parts of Andhra, U.P., West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, we may say that at this time large tusked elephant, wild ox and three-toed horse and other animals should have been living in South India, and these must have provided food to man.

From the large number of tools found in and around Madras, in many districts of Andhra and Mysore, one might also say that the population of early man at this time was fairly thick and well distributed. Man was spread out along the banks of smaller and larger rivers and was found in large numbers near foothills where raw material was easily available.

Stage I-A

How long man remained in this very primitive stage we cannot say. At Attirampakkam, near Madras, at Giddalur, District Kurnool, at Anagwadi, District Bijapur, for instance, we find tools which are comparatively light and beautifully finished showing that this man, though a hunter-fisher, had developed an artistic sense. And possibly the tools which are sharp all round must have been used in different ways in hunting. At least all over South India as well as in the north we see a definite development in the man's tools which must be the result of his mental development.

Second Stage

What happened to this man is unknown. So far no physical remains of this early man have been found anywhere in India. But we do know that all over South India beginning with Attirampakkam in the south and extending upto Bijapur in the north, these heavy but finely made tools were given up by man. In Bijapur and in many parts of Andhra, the man had also given up the use of quartzite. He now preferred still better, fine-grained rocks. His tools and weapons are much smaller and may have provided him with spear-heads, lance-heads and the variety of scrapers used for smoothing the wooden and bone shafts of several

other tools and weapons. It must be emphasised that even this second Stone Age man was still a hunter. But the methods by which he hunted must have changed a great deal. Since his tools were small, he could carry these tools into the interior where raw material was not easily available. Thus a much larger area than before was penetrated by man. We may call this stage as advanced hunting and food collecting stage. No remains of contemporary animals have been found. The earlier species continued to live.

Third Stage

The man who followed is documented from excavations at Attirampakkam, from the Rallakalava, near Renigunta, District Chittoor and from several sites in Kurnool District. Instead of large number of points and several kinds of scrapers we get thin, long flakes called blades by archæologists. Among these blades we notice tools which could have been used for no other purpose than for engraving on wood and bone. Even those who are not archæologists when they see these delicate tools will be reminded of our present steel chisels and other tools used by carpenters and other craftsmen. So this stage is a definite advance on the two previous stages of man. Still we have to call this man a food-collector, however advanced he may be in the production of stone tools. Unfortunately not much is known of this man. But further information can be had if more systematic work is carried out. The most important sites from my point of view are the caves around Madras and in Kurnool District where some 60 years ago, Robert Bruce Foote had found not only such fine tools, but even artistic work in bone which he then compared with similar work discovered at that time in the caves of France and called Upper Palæolithic by archæologists. Unfortunately all the collections made by Foote have been lost, but I am quite sure that if we make a genuine attempt with all the knowledge we have got of excavations today then the caves in Kurnool and possibly in Chittoor and in Madras will give us important evidence of this advanced hunting stage of man.

Fourth Stage

From this advanced stage, we find that man had changed again. His tools have become still smaller. These no doubt had developed from the very fine blades which we witness on the Ralla-

kalava and at Attirampakkam and at many sites in Kurnool. The tools and weapons are so small that we call them microliths (small stone implements). Though small, still these are the precursors of our modern tools and weapons in copper, bronze and iron because for the first time that man has discovered the principle of compound tool. He hafted the tools in a bone or a wood as teeth (though unfortunately we have not yet secured from any site in India these evidences, though these denticulated tools have been found in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Europe). Hence in some Indian languages these iron sickles are called " toothed tools ", though they have no teeth now. But these local " vulgar " names undoubtedly show the ancestry of these iron sickles. Until very recently these small tools, called microliths, were found on the surface. But now at Sangankal near Bellary these have been found sandwiched between the layers containing tools of the late Early Stone Age or Middle Stone Age and tools of the New Stone Age when man had definitely taken to agriculture and domestication of animals. So this transitional stage called " Mesolithic " is extremely important and comparatively very well dated now. The evidence for this is also found in the fossil sand-dunes in the far south at Tiruneiveli. We can date it provisionally to 4000 B.C. or earlier. The small tools were used for various purposes : for hunting the animals with a bow and an arrow : as harpoons for fishing, and also used as sickle-teeth for very primitive harvesting : cutting the stalks naturally growing tall grasses. Thus these small tools do indicate a very great step taken by man towards what is called economic self-sufficiency. He was not completely dependent on animal food or wild plants, edible fruits and things like that. He could collect wild grass by reaping and thus the first foundation of agriculture was laid. These tools have been found everywhere in South India in the red soil as my travel from Hyderabad in the north to south has shown and also one can use the reports of other field workers. Thus this is a very widespread state of man very well documented from all over South India. Unfortunately so little work has been done by way of excavation that we are not able to get the conditions or environment in which man lived. In some places like Sangankal, it appears that the climate was comparatively more humid than it is today or before this man lived, whereas the same thing is indicated by the fossil sand-dunes at

Tirunelveli. But these are speculations which need to be put on a much more firmer foundation by a combined team of archæologists and workers from other disciplines, just as we have done at the Deccan College with the data from Kupgal mound, at Sangankal.

Fifth Stage

So far I have been merely describing to you the four stages by which man had arrived at the beginning of agriculture, but had not yet taken the first steps in agriculture. When I say this I mean conscious attempt at ploughing the land or preparing the land for sowing the seeds and for harvesting and also water the land with some kind of irrigation. This we witness very well in the eastern districts of Mysore and the western districts of Andhra and the northern districts of Madras. The first steps—conscious steps—towards civilization were taken on the granite hills in South India. These hills look picturesque and foreboding. They look like castles from a distance : huge boulders on their periphery and as one goes nearer one sees huge boulders perched on one another as if placed by man and some about to fall at any moment. But these are there for the last 5,000 years and more and if one takes the trouble of climbing these hills which are 300 to 600 ft. high (as I have done in the districts of Raichur, Bellary and North Arcot and Chitaldurg), then one finds after climbing up a beautifully enclosed area, yet fairly flat. These flat areas were inhabited by man around 2000 B.C. These are the earliest settlements of man. Until now man moved from place to place. He was a hunter, and so went after the animals he hunted. But now he had chosen to remain at one place. As soon as man took this first step of settling down he was in need of houses and of pots and pans in which he could store his food as well as the water he collected either from some streams at a distance or from the place nearby. We have also some evidence from our excavations at Tekkalkota, District Bellary and at Hallur, District Dharwar and at Palavoy, District Anantapur that this man cultivated Hurali (Kan), Ulavalu (Tel), Kollu (Tam) or Kulthi (Hindi) and ragi (horsegram and finger millet respectively), two of the most staple items of food of the agriculturists in South India. Both *rāgi* and *kollu* flourish on sandy, lateritic, even hilly areas. And it is perhaps not a coincidence that the areas of the maximum concentration of the Neo-

lithic and megalithic sites overlap with that of *rāgi* and *kollu.* It is interesting to note that both these grains as well as greengram later occur at Paiyampali, North Arcot District (*I.A.R.*, 1964, p. 38).

These people besides making use of natural rock-shelters on these hills built " houses ", indeed small huts, which were usually round, supported by round wooden posts (about 2 to 3 ft. in diameter). These huts were covered with split bamboo screen, and occasionally the walls were partly or wholly plastered with clay mixed with cow-dung. The roofs were presumably conical and invariably thatched. Some of these huts have 15 ft. (about 5 metres) in width. The floors were levelled by placing flat-topped stones and then bonded with clay and finally plastered with lime. The minimum " furniture " inside these huts consisted of a fire place made of three stones or as at Hallur of a small pit sunk into the floor, and a storage jar which stood on three terracotta legs. Within the empty space (*i.e.* the base of the storage jar and the floor) were kept polished stone axes, and sling stones. At a rough estimate at least 5 to 6 people could live in these small round huts (as Boyas do today) and we find that in a terrace at Sangankal or at Tekkalkota there would be at least 10 to 15 such round huts. From this we can say that a small community of 80 to 100 people lived on each terrace and on a hill like Tekkalkota, where there are no less than 20 such terraces, could accommodate a population of about 20×100 (2,000) people at the minimum. There are numerous such hills spread from Mahebubnagar in Andhra to North Arcot District or Salem in Madras through Anantapur and parts of Cuddappa.

When I say that these people lived on these hills, it means that there was a society. Groups of people came together to build such houses and at Tekkalkota we have got definite evidence that they moved large stones and enclosed the periphery of the hills where there were no natural stones affording such privacy. And these stones were so heavy that they could be moved by not less than 5 to 10 people, on the principle of inclined plane. One may also see, paths abound with stone avenues and artificial irrigation systems for leading rain water from one terrace to another. That means there was planning and organization. The first stage of man towards civilization was reached.

Other things are also suggestive. For instance you have to look at their pottery. It is not primitive, but on the contrary highly sophisticated. These are vessels which resemble our tea pots. Other vessels looked like ice-cream cups and wine-cups because they have got a permanent pedestal or foot and then there are vessels with 4 to 5 pinched openings. Huge storage jars were also found. Thus we find that these early settlers on the hills and foothills had developed a way of life which leads us to the next stage.

When we look to their tools and weapons, we find that they are still of stone, but they are completely different from what I have described to you before. The tools are now beautifully ground or polished. This itself means that man had to live at one place so that these beautiful tools could be made. It takes at least a week oı a fortnight to grind these tools and for grinding they had to have huge concave or boat-shaped grinding stones. These are found in these terraced hills in their natural stage.

Their sense of organisation as well as community life and their thought for the next life is again indicated by the way they disposed off the dead. We find that these people buried the dead where they lived in pits in an extended posture. Slightly later the body was kept in pots either horizontally or vertically and very often several pots were placed inside these pots. These are the precursors of coffins of the later period. From the evidence at Tekkalkota, and Brahmagiri and Piklihal, one might infer that bodies were possibly exposed and when they were sufficiently dried up, the bones were carefully picked up and re-arranged as naturally as possible and kept in the pots called urns.

We have now got several carbon-14 dates, and we can say that this culture called the Neolithic or Polished Stone Axe Culture by archæologists flourished from about 2500 B.C. to about 900 B.C. We may call it the earliest beginnings of civilization. Right from the selection of the site—castle-like hills, with flat areas or areas intentionally made flat, with round and/or square houses, often plastered with lime, furnishing these houses with highly utilitarian storage jars and sophisticated pottery, making stone tools by grinding and chipping and burying the dead with pots and pans in the

houses—shows a well-organized way of life, living partly on agriculture and partly on stock-breeding and hunting.

This man was also an artist. He has left numerous paintings and bruisings in the rock shelters of men, and animals. This is further documented by exquisite pin-hole decoration on pottery from Tekkalkota.

Another "First" these people had to their credit was the exploitation of the gold in the Raichur Doab. The earliest gold ornaments in South India were made by them. They were also the first to use copper in South India.

Unfortunately, we have no idea whether this man knew writing or not. Except for this fact, *viz.*, his knowledge of writing, we can say that he was civilized and this civilized stage is found almost all over South India except the extreme south, *viz.*, Tirunelveli District. The beginning possibly took place in Raichur and Bellary District where there are very fine hills and easily available raw material and from this the man later spread to the Kaveri delta on the east and the Mysore plains on the west.

From where did he come? This is not known. Anthropologists who have studied the human skeletons from Brahmagiri, Piklihal, Tekkalkota and T. Narsipur think that this man might be connected very distantly, partly with the aboriginal population of South India and partly with the people from distant Iran. So even at this early date, about 2000 B.C., we can say that the population of South India was not pure but quite mixed. And this is also indicated by the stone tools and above all pottery. The pottery from Piklihal, Sangankal, Tekkalkota and T. Narasipur does suggest affinities with that of Iran and Western Asia.

Sixth Stage

How and when this man changed, we do not know. But all over South India (again except perhaps the Tirunelveli District) we find a great change come over in the man's way of living. This was first very well demonstrated at Brahmagiri where a beautiful black-topped pottery with red bottom and iron tools were found in association with stone tools and pot burials.

This is commonly called the megalithic period or culture—a time when man used underground or overground tombs made with large huned or roughly huned stone slabs. The very conception of burying the dead in such structures and the organization behind it anticipates a well-knit social order. Formerly, after the excavations at Brahmagiri, it was supposed that this great megalithic culture which has spread all over South India, in practically all the districts of Andhra, Mysore and Madras except perhaps the coastal districts on the east and the west, was not older than 250 B.C. Sir Mortimer Wheeler thought that this megalithic people who possessed iron weapons—swords and spears—and other iron tools must have ousted the Maurian Emperor from the south. But this now seems to be wrong. In fact evidence is accumulating that these megalithic cultures are at least three to four centuries older. It also appears from our own survey and excavations by Shri A. Sundara at Terdal in the Bijapur District that some of the megaliths in the great sandstone area are earlier and belong to the Copper Age which ended in that region about 1000 B.C. (I.A.R., 1965–66, I. p. 65). This is also suggested by Tekkalkota, District Bellary. This is further corraborated by Dr. Nagaraja Rao's excavations at Hallur, Dharwar District (I.A.R., 1964–65, I.). Here we have got one of the earliest dates for the megalithic in association with chalcolithic culture and this is c. 900 B.C. (T.F. 570 and 573, I.A.R., 1965–66, V-6). If this is accepted then we can say that the further stage towards civilization in South India was taken at about this time. Of course, we are awaiting further work and confirmation of these dates.

Careful excavation has revealed how with great care, planning and organization these huge monuments were constructed. Architect and artizans, potter and the priest whoever he was, and the village or city closeby, must have joined in its preparation or completion. Hence the observation of the day of mourning as holiday.

These people, as very briefly mentioned above, used iron tools and weapons and a beautiful pottery with the black top and red bottom. They had developed certain ideas about the dead and how they should be venerated and cared for. While one can go on describing these, unfortunately, so far we do not know other aspects

of the life of this great megalithic people. Almost everywhere these megalithic structures are on barren rocky terrain—either granitic or lateritic. Surveys in Chingleput District have shown that these megalithic habitations lie near artificial ponds. It is also believed that these artificial ponds were first made by the megalithic people and here for the first time we find irrigation conducted with the help of these ponds. It is quite possible that these ponds with which Andhra, Mysore and Madras are again studded with, are the creations of the megalithic people, though I would like a full archæological confirmation for this assumption.

I have already told you that our excavations at Tekkalkota Hallur and Palavoy have yielded the earliest traces of *Kulath* (*dolichos biflorus*) and *Rāgi*, two of the staple items of diet of the agriculturists in South India. But when did rice enter their dietary? Though we have not got actual proof, I think its first use should be credited to the megalithic builders though it was known in Central India, Saurashtra and West Bengal much earlier from 2000 B.C. They must have planted rice and got at least two to three crops as the people in South India do today with their irrigation ponds and lakes. It is indeed a great pity that except for the several types of megalithic tombs, we do not know how they lived—their town and city life and even the village life. Traces of a city were found on the foot of the Brahmagiri hill. This has been identified with the ancient city of Isila. But so far no traces of any other megalithic city are available. That this megalithic people were well organized and also rich and prosperous can be easily seen from the funerary goods which besides containing iron tools and weapons and very fine pottery, also contain numerous gold beads and beads of semi-precious stones. And it is this life which is depicted in the early Tamil literature.

Recently my colleague Dr. Z. D. Ansari and Shri Rami Reddi got new evidence in their excavations at Palavoy, District Anantapur to say that the ashmounds which are almost invariably associated with Neolithic and Megalithic sites were not simple heaps of cowdung burnt ceremoniously on occasions, but these ashmounds were indeed ovens for smelting iron. If this is established then we can further credit these people with large-scale iron smelting in South India.

Now one question remains. Did this people know writing? If they did, then they fulfil all the requirements of civilization as defined by archæologists and anthropologists. Here unfortunately the evidence is very very meagre or almost nil. It has been supposed by Fürer-Haimendorf that since the area of the megalithic culture overlapped with that of the distribution of the present Dravidian languages, Dravidian was introduced by the megalithic people. And independently of Professor Haimendorf, I came to the conclusion when I saw the Asokan edicts at Maski, Brahmagiri and Kapbal that these edicts could be addressed only to people who could read and write—that is the megalith builders—and not to their predecessors, *viz.*, the Neolithic pastoralists. Further the evidence from Arikamedu, Pondicherry shows that the eaily Dravidi script was allied to Brahmi, and more than 2,000 years ago the Tamilians could read what was written by the northerners, and the northerners could read what their brethern wrote in the south. This is quite probable, though as pointed out by the late Prof. Gordon Childe, we have not got that proof for the migration of the Dravidian from Finno-Ugrian to South India as we have got for the Aryan languages. Consequently, according to the present data, the South Indian megalithis though in one essential feature identical with the Western European, *viz.*, both possess the port-hole cist, still they have been separated spatially as well as in time. The European megaliths are at least 2000 B.C. whereas even according to our new dating, we cannot place the South Indian megaliths before 700 or 900 B.C.

Here, however, I would place before you the new evidence that has been found by the discovery of stone cists by Fairservis in Eastern Las Bela in Baluchistan, West Pakistan. These cists are generally oriented east-west and they are made of upright slabs standing upto 3 ft in height. There is a tendency for these cists to be clustered in groups on tops of ridges. Occasionally the cists have a capstone and in one case Dr. Sherman Minton found a port-hole in one of the upright slabs. Unfoitunately, none of these Sind-Baluchistan megaliths have been excavated. But we have evidence now, according to Fairservis, to reaffirm a rather extensive megalithic complex in the eastern portion of the Indo-Iranian border lands. So it is possible that the great megalithic builders of South India were partly indigenous and partly western-oriented,

because a study of the skulls showed a mixture of the Mediterranean and Proto-Austroloid traits, like the Veddid types. This is said to be a feature of the present-day Dravidian-speakers. Thus the distant ancestors of these people seemed to have introduced iron into South India quite separately from the people who introduced iron in Northern India.

Our survey of the existing evidence shows that until about 4,000 years ago the cultural development in South India did not materially differ from that of the rest of India. Then just as a unique civilization grew up in the Indus Valley, taking advantage of the natural factors, in the same way South India chalked out its own lines of development, according to its peculiar environment, *viz.*, castellated hills, looking down red, rocky plains, occasionally interspersed with stretches of rich fertile soil. Nature and man thus effectively combined to give the earliest South Indian Cultures their individuality.

The picture is vague and very much incomplete. But it can be amplified only when a well-organized and "a bit civilized" attempt is made to find out the habitation sites of the megalithic people as well as the habitation sites of their predecessors. It is these which hold the full secret of the beginning of civilization in South India.

Early Tamil literature, *viz.*, *Tolkāppiyam*, *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, *Manimēkhalai* and *Silappadikāram*, no doubt knew and does refer to several of these burial monuments. But the way they are referred to, one may infer that these practices had become old, even remote, and were considerably affected or modified by contact with the North. Though it is conceivable that the old burial grounds continued to remain in use, and the earliest Chola Kings probably buried in pots, while the Cheras preferred cremation, and the women practised *Sati* (K. R. Srinivasan, *A.I.*, No. 2, 1946, pp. 2 ff.). That the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas were established Kingdoms in the 3rd century B.C. is proved beyond doubt by Asokan edicts. Thus there is little doubt now that megalithism—the practice of burying in such tombs—arose some centuries before this date. Hence, archæology alone might throw more light on this problem. For the moment, we may present the picture of the beginning of South India in six or seven stages.

A CHART SHOWING THE BEGINNING OF CIVILIZATION

Period	Stage	Typical important sites	Climate	Flora	Fauna
2,200–2,800 Before Present.	VI	(viii) Terdal (D. Bijapur) (vii) Piklihal (vi) Tekkalkota (v) Sangankal (iv) Brahmagiri (iii) Paiyampalli (ii) Amritamangalam (iA) Sanur (D. Chingleput) (i) Adichanalur	Probably as today.	As today, but with first definite traces of green gram. Rice probably first known in S. India at this time.	As today ..
2,800–4,000 Before Present.	V	(viii) Hallur (D. Dharwar) (vii) Utnoor (D. Mehbubnagar). (vi) Piklihal and Maski (D. Raichur). (v) Tekkalkota (D. Bellary). (iv) Sangankal (D. Bellary). (iiiA) Brahmagiri (D. Chitaldrug). (iii) Palavoy (D. Anantapur). (ii) T. Narasipur (D. Mysore). (i) Paiyampalli (D. North Arcot).	Probably as today or a little more humid.	Probably as today but with cultivation or collection from semi-wild state grains of Kollu or Hulgi and Ragi.	Probably as today but with definite traces of the domesticated ox/cow/pig, sheep (?) goat and horse (from Hallur).
4,000–10,000 Before Present.	IV	(ii) Sangankal (D. Bellary). (i) Teris of Tirunelveli District.	More humid than today.	..	..
30,000–20,000 Before Present.	III	Vedachralu near Renigunta (D. Chittoor).	Probably as today.	..	..
20,000–40,000 Before Present.	II	(iii) Anagwadi (ii) Giddalur (i) Attirampakkam	Probably a little more dry than today.	..	..
50,000–75,000	IA	(iii) Angawadi (D. Bijapur). (ii) Giddalur (D. Kurnool). (i) Attirampakkam (D. Chingleput).	Probably as today.	..	..
2,00,000 Before Present.	I	Vadamadurai (D. Chingleput).	More humid than today.	..	..

IN SOUTH INDIA IN SIX STAGES (2,00,000–2,200 Before Present)

Man	Man (Artifacts)	Habitations	Man's activities
Skeletal Remains—mainly skulls from Adichanalur and Brahmagiri. Proto-Australoid and Mediterranian like the Veddas of Ceylon.	(i) Fine wheelmade pottery. (ii) Iron tools and weapons. (iii) Ornaments of gold, copper and semi-precious stones. (iv) Construction of underground and overground huge stone burials.	First cities(?), Isila-Pattana, Kaveri-Pattana and villages on river banks, foothills, castellated hills with rock-shelters, Historical Kingdoms of Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas.	(i) Construction of towns and cities and several types of underground and over-ground burials. (ii) Agriculture with irrigation—artificial ponds. (iii) Iron-smelting on a large scale, all over South India. (iv) Arts and crafts. (v) Trade and Commerce. (vi) First traces of earliest Tamil in Brahmi-like script (c. 100 B.C.). (vii) Earliest Tamil literature.
Skeletal remains with mixed features: (i) Partly indigenous and (ii) Partly western Asiatic.	(iii) Flat Copper axes and pins. (ii) Thin blade tools. (i) Polished stone tools (axes, chisels and Adze).	First settled villages on river banks, foothills and castellated hills with rock-shelters.	(i) First traces of built houses-round, square, lime floor, with storage jars and stone fire-place or sunk-in chulahs. (ii) Burial in pits within habitation with or without pots. (iii) Pottery making. (iv) Arts and crafts—Painting, Bruising on rocks and ornaments. (v) Copper-smelting (?). (vi) Ornaments of gold, faience, stealite and semi-precious stones. (vii) Trade in rare stones and copper ingots and/or tools. (viii) Pastoralism and Domestication of animals. (ix) Agriculture with stone hoe.
....	Very small tools of stone (microliths) blades, points, scrapers and burins.	River banks, foothills, rock-shelters and caves.	Intensive fruit collection as in III, but with now compounds tools and harvesting or cutting naturally growing grasses.
....	Thin, long, flat, small blades of stone knife blade burins (chisels) points.	River banks, foothills, rockshelters and caves.	Intensive food collecting in specified areas with finer tools and weapons (stone prototypes of our steel knives and chisels for cutting, slicing and engraving).
....	Comparatively light, small stone tools, points, awls and scrapers.	River banks, foothills and light regions forested away from rivers.	Food-collecting by hunting and fishing (but now *with spear and lance also*) and collecting roots and fruits.
....	Comparatively light, symmetrical stone tools (handaxes and cleavers).	River banks and foothills.	Food-gathering by hunting, fishing, snaring and collecting wild fruits and roots.
....	Heavy and crude stone tools (handaxes and choppers).	River banks and foothills.	

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The Fine Arts and Recreation during the Cōḻa Period

Loganayaky Nannithamby

Royalty as well as the ordinary citizens of the Cōḻa period enjoyed a considerable amount of leisure. When we analyse how these leisure hours were spent, we begin to understand the remarkable developments achieved in the literary field and in the field of art during this period. Some of this literary activity centred around the royal courts, while others evolved around the temple. As regards the developments of dancing, music and other associated arts, the role played by kings and their courts, and the temple cannot be exaggerated.

DANCING

Dancing, like music, is an art that has been practised in India since ancient times. The dance which earlier was one of the chief forms of religions expression of the Tamils, subsequently evolved also into social entertainment. But this evolution must have taken place in a later period for we do not have in earlier periods, much evidence of court dancers, or of the art being widely practised for social entertainment. Though a popular form of art, dancing seems to have been confined to a class of professionals. Dancing, since it was part of the ritual of worship and an act of dedication to the deity, was confined in the beginning to the temples. It was the fifteenth item in the *Sōḍasa Upacāra*. Sōḍasa Upacāra are the sixteen acts of homage and honour paid to dieties, *viz.*, ācaṉam, cuvākatam, pāttiyam, arkkiyam, ācamaṉīyam, matuparkkam, ācamaṉam, snāṉam, āṭai, āparaṉam, kantam, puṣpam, tūpam, tīpam, naivēttiyam, vantaṉam or mañcaṉam, pū, nīr, amutu, tūcu, aṭaikkāy, āti, kuṭai, kavari, ālavaṭṭam, viciṟi, āṭal and vācciyam. In the Tanjore temple this ritual was a daily affair. In others the ritual of dancing was done on special occasions and during festivals.[1] Processions of the deities too were accompanied by these dancers. Different dancing girls were appointed to dance before the deity at different times of the day. The worship or Pūja was performed at least 3 times a day—morning, afternoon and evening and at each of these pūjas, the dance had to be offered as part of the ritual. The Kaḷattūr inscription of Kulottunga III states the times fixed for various dancing girls to perform in the temple of Cuntara Cōḻiśvara Uṭaiyār temple.[2]

The classic art of Tamil Nadu, *Bharata Nāṭyam* was chiefly for the stage, while the dances or kūttus as they were called were more popular in the temple and village performances. These kūttus with their distinctive features were divided into four major types with their subdivisions. Cāntik kūttu,[3] Cākkaik Kūttu,[4] Āryak Kūttu,[5] and Tamiḻk kūttu [6] were the four major types.

Cāntik kūttu consisted of four subdivisions: (1) Cokkam or cutta Nṛttam, (2) Meykkūttu or Akamārkkam, (3) Cāntik Kūttu and Āryak Kūttu. While Cāntikkūttu and Āryak Kūttu were for the delectation of the kings and royalty, Tamiḻk kūttu, Viṉōtak kūttu and the like were intended for the masses.

The Meykkūttu or Akamārkkam was danced to songs from the Tēvārams and Prabhandhas.[7] Abhinaya is dance with songs, while Nāṭaka is a dance drama. Cokkam consists of 108 Karaṇas described in the *Nātya Śāstra*. Sculptural representations of the 108 Karaṇas are found in temples like the Brahadīśvara temple of Tanjore, the Cāraṅkapāṇi temple of Kumbakonam, and the Naṭarāja temple of Chidambaram. The dance sculptures of Tanjore of the 11th century though incomplete are the earliest representations of these karaṇas in stone. The 81 completed figures of the Tanjore temple are seen on the first tier of the temple vimāṇa. The karaṇa figures of this temple are those of Lord Śiva. The Kumbakonam sculptures are also of male figures but the Chidambaram ones are of female figures with the corresponding verses from the Nāṭya Saśtra inscribed below them.[8]

Viṉōtak kūttus were comic sketches. Dance dramas based on Tamil stories were called Tamiḻk kuttu while those based on Sanskrit and Prakrit stories were called Āryak kūttu. Those who performed the Āryak kūttu were called Cākkaiyar. The description of a sculptural representation of a Cākkaiyar of the 13th century belonging to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr [9] throws some light on how these dancers were dressed. They wore garlands and ornaments such as earings and were heavily made up and danced with sword. The Śiva Temples of Darasuram and Tirbhuvanam too have beautiful sculptures of dancing figures which reveal the mode of dress, the musical instruments that were employed in the accompaniment for these dances, and the other forms of dances that were in vogue. The various other dances like the Cantik Kuṉippam, Kuṭak kūttu, Kuravai and the Patiṉōrāṭal which occur in the inscriptions and literature of this period shows how this art flourished in the country.

A good dancer was well accomplished in all the four major types of dances mentioned above. The best accomplished dancers

were honoured by being invested with titles like Talaikkōli and Niruttap pérarayar.[10] The former title was bestowed on female dancers while the latter was bestowed on male dancers. The investiture of titles was preceded by an elaborate ceremony after which a gold plated staff embedded with gems was presented to the dancer.[11] The considerable amount of influence wielded by these honoured dancers is evident from instances which speak of kings naming villages after them. Rajaraja III who witnessed the Akamārka dance of a Talaikkōli at Tiruvorriyūr named a piece of land in the Simhavishnu Caturvēti Mankalam, Nallūr after the Talaikkōli's name at her request. The teachers who trained these dancers were to be well versed in Niruttam, Gītam and Vādyam — *i.e.*, Dance, music and playing instruments. Vīracōḷa Pañcavan Mādēvi Nāṭakamaiyan, Maraikkāṭōnāna Tiruveḷḷaraic cākkai, Orriyūran Kanapati, Orriyuran Pankōvan, are four among the teachers of Rajaraja's time. These teachers were maintained by large endowments of land made in their favour. These endowments were called kūttak kāṇi or Naṭṭuvak kāṇi. Some of these teachers were paid annually and additional payments were made for special performances. An inscription of the 4th year of Rajendra I refers to a grant of paddy to a Cāntikkūttan Tiruvalam Tirumudukunran Vijayarājendra Ācāryān and members of his troupe for enacting the *Rajarajeswara nāṭaka* during the Vaikāci festival in the Tanjore temple. Another inscription of the 9th year of Rajaraja I speaks of the Nṛtya Bhoga offered to Kumaran Sri Kanṭan for enacting the *Tirumūla Nāyanār Nāṭaka* and seven Ankas of Āryak kūttu.[12]

Contemporary literature has numerous references to the stages (Ātaranku) erected for dance performances[13] and the different types of dances in vogue.[14] But they do not provide any detailed description of the set up or lay out of the stage or how these dance recitals were planned and performed. However the descriptions of the stage appear to have been familiar with dance systems expounded in Iḷankō's *Cilappatikāram*. The *Mūvar Ulā* for example speaks of Patinōrātal mentioned in the *Cilappatikāram*.[15] This dance consisted of eleven themes (1) Alliyam, (2) Kuṭam, (3) Māl, (4) Marakkāl, (5) Kotukoṭṭi, (6) Pāṇṭarankam, (7) Kuṭai, (8) Tuṭi, (9) Pāvai, (10) Kaṭayam, (11) Pētu. The dancers are referred to as Matankiyār[16] in literature while the inscriptions name them kūttar and Taliccērip Peṇtukaḷ or Taḷiyilār. Troupes of dancers accompanied and participated in processions of kings as they did in processions of deities.[17] Holy men and other prominent men were welcomed with dances and music when they visited temples and villages on their pilgrim routes.

As mentioned earlier direct evidence of dancers performing in the courts is rather rare but the dancing stages and halls erected in palaces for an audience, show that these recitals were witnessed and enjoyed by members of royal family and the court as well as others. In *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*, Aṉaṅka mālai and Tēcikappāvai perform for princes and for the court poets.[18]

COURTESANS

The Caṅkam anthologies speak of two main classes of courtesans the cērip parattaiyar and the kātat parattaiyar whose profession was prostitution. They were also found in large numbers in the royal establishments. But there is no evidence of courtesans attached to temples during this classical period. It is in the middle ages and especially during the Cōḷa period that the Dēvadāsi or Tēvaraṭiyār (temple maid servants) are commonly found in the South Indian temples.

The appointment of dēvadāsis to the temple was apparently hereditary. One of Rajaraja's inscription states that the dancing girls should when making appointment of new dancers employ persons who are well accomplished in the art. If such an appointee did not fulfil expectations, the temple reserved the right to appoint another in her place.[19] Therefore the profession must have been confined to a special class of trained dancers and hired women who passed the art down by heredity and whose privileges were enjoyed by them and their descendants.

Dedicated to the temple in early childhood, young girls were taught the arts of classical dancing and music by dance masters called Naṭṭuvaṉārs and Kūṭṭaracars[20] attached to the temple. The dedication ceremony of the dēvadāsi was performed by the temple priest who tied the marriage poṭṭu (tāli) around the neck of the Dāsi and married her to the deity. On completion of seven years of training in dance and song, the debut (Araṅkēṟṟam) took place in the temple in the presence of the king, and titles like Talaikkōli were bestowed.

Stipulations regarding minimum qualifications applied not only to professionals in dancing but to all other appointees in the administration of the temple. Kings like Rajaraja were not only keen in maintaining high standards by such rigid regulations but also enjoined positive directives to encourage the arts and professions. Four hundred Dēvadāsis were settled in Tanjore to perform ritual dances and other chores in the Bṛhadīsvara temple[21]

under the lavish patronage of Rajaraja I. A master was appointed to supervise these dancing girls. It was probably his duty to assign to the dancing girls their various duties and allocate the timetable for the performance of their duties. In addition to the singing of devotional songs and dancing, the dancing girls had a number of other duties like cleaning rice, and plastering floors and walls with cowdung. They also acted as bearers of chowrie[22] flowers and holy ash trays. Bearers of chowrie were called Kavarippiṇās.[23] It was a rare privilege to be assigned to this duty of carrying the chowrie which was only granted to a favoured few. The booty obtained by the Tamil kings by their victories, included women who were brought to adorn the Vēḷams[24] in their palaces. These women who belonged to the Vēḷam were probably paid servants who attended on the king's person and were maids in waiting of the queen and performed other additional duties. These women were to accompany the king wherever he went and hence had to go to the battle field too.

The dancing girls lived in quarters provided for them in streets very near the temple. The houses allotted to the 400 dancing girls in Rajaraja's inscription are even numbered.[25] Dancing girls belonging to Śaivite temples were called Iṣapattaḷiyiḷār[26] while those of the Vaishnavite temples were known as Sri Vaishnava Māṇikkam.[27] These girls bore distinct marks which distinguished those belonging to Vaishnavite temples from those belonging to Śiva temples.[28] Dancing girls of Śiva temples had the trident or Sūla mark. The mark for the dancing girls belonging to Vaishnavite temples is not stated in the inscriptions. In spite of these distinctions they lived and worked in peace and harmony.[29] The purpose of branding with these marks is not very clear.

There are many instances of women being sold to the temple as slaves.[30] Slavery was not unknown during the period, but this sale of girls to the temple was a refined type of transaction for it was considered an act of dedication to the diety. Hence we see women belonging to respectable noble families selling themselves to the temples for such services of lifelong dedication.

The marriage status of these girls is another interesting point to note. The fact that some of them were named after their husbands and lived with their husbands shows that they were not barred from a married life.[31] Nevertheless most of them lived single.

Besides being highly cultured and proficient in the arts they have also been wealthy enough to make rich endowments to

temples. Dancing girls figure frequently in inscriptions[32] as donors. Valuable additions were made to the temple premises by them and they have been responsible for the installation of a number of sculptures of kings, deities and saints.

MUSIC

Music is another form of art that flourished under Cōḻa rule. Music like dancing was an essential component of temple worship. The music of this age was almost completely in the hands of the temple as a result of the Bhakti movement. The great hymnologists--Tirunāvukkaracar, Tirugñanacampantar and Cuntarar were themselves composers of music, and we see the introduction of a number of lyric forms like the Tāṉṭakam and tunes or paṇs like Viruttam. The Tēvāram hymns were also adapted to old Tamil tunes and had a well formed rythmic pattern. The *Tirumurai kaṇṭa Purāṇam* relates efforts made by the King Aditya I in tracing the descendants of Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar who set these hymns to music, and of finally finding a lady belonging to his family who helped to restore the old music of these hymns.

These *Tiruppatikam*, *Tiruvāymoḻi* of the Āḻvārs and works like *Tiruppāvai* and *Tiruvempāvai* were recited in temples during the morning, afternoon and evening pūjas and other ritual worship and in a special manner during festivals. The *Tiruppāvai* and *Tiruvempāvai* were sung especially during the month of Mārkaḻi or December during the Tiruvempāvai festival. This practice of singing these hymns in the temple was already in vogue during the time of the Pallava King Vijaya Nandi Vikrama Varman.[33] But the codification of the Tirumurais by Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi gave a fresh impetus to the popularisation of these hymns. Some scholars attribute the honour of having patronised Nampi to Rajaraja[34] while others say Aditya I and Parantaka were the contemporaries of Nampi who helped him complete this great deed.[35]

Three different groups of people were appointed to recite the *Tiruppatikam* at the temples. Brahmins[36], Deva Dāsis[37], Piṭārar or Ōtuvārs[38]. Forty-eight such singers were brought to the Tanjore temple from various other temples in A.D. 1014 during the 29th regnal year of Rajaraja I. Hence it is evident that the singing of Tēvārams and Tiruppatikams should have been practised in other temples too. In Tiruvāmattūr, sixteen blind men sang the *Tiruppatikam* during the morning and evening worship in the temple.[39] These blind men and their two guides endowed with sight were given an endowment of twelve velis of land. The endowments for

the singers were called Tiruppatikak Kāṇi. The singers sang the hymns. to the accompaniment of musical instruments like the mattaḷam, uṭukkai and Tāḷam. The numerous records of endowments made by various temples for the singing of Tiruppatikam shows how widespread this practice was. The appointment of a Tēvara Nāyakam and the building of halls called Tirukkaikkōṭṭi further encouraged these singers. Dorai Rangasamy argues that there was no necessity for a Tēvara Nāyakam when there was a Sri Kāriyak Kaṇkāṇi to supervise all aspects connected with temple worship. Dorai Rangasamy maintains that the Tēvāra Nāyakams were men in charge of making the necessary arrangements for the private worship of the king.[40] Tēvāra Nāyakams could probably have been also the leaders of musical temples. Group singing is evident from the large number of singers employed in various temples like Tanjore Tiruverumpūr and Tiruvāmattūr. Rajaraja I endowed land for fifty piṭārar 48 of whom four were to sing and are to accompany on utukkai and one on matta'am daily in the Tanjore temple.[41] An inscription of Tiruv. mpūr Piplik śvara temple refers to an endowment of land for four persons who were to sing Tiruppatikam daily in the temple to the accompaniment of uṭukkai and tāḷam.

But by the time of Kulottunga I the act of reciting hymns was considered a privilege and Kulottunga confirmed this privilege on individuals[42]. Tirukkaikkōṭṭis were special halls where Tirumurais were recited.[43] Men appointed to supervise these were called Tamil Virakar and the endowment provided for them was termed Tirukkai kōṭṭip Puṟam.

Cekkilar's work *Periya Purāṇam* written during this period served to enhance the popularity of the Nāyaṉmārs among the people. Their images were installed in temples,[44] and small temples dedicated to them sprang up[45], Tirumurais were inscribed in temple walls and facsimiles of these were preserved in temples, maṭas and kukais.

Cities reverberating with the music of these hymns are depicted in many of the *Periya Purā am* hagiographies. These devotional songs served the music loving public in many ways. The simple language, the musical element and the rare sense of rhythmic pattern and their literary and religious value account for their hold on the people. While promoting the private and personal devotional worship, these musical compositions introduced by the Bhakti movement were a great contribution to congregational singing and world history of piety.

Beside these temple singers and reciters there were also musicians called Pāṇar attached to the temples who set hymns and songs to music and the trained the singers. An inscription of Kulottunga from Tiruviṭaimarutūr[46] describes how a Pāṇar called Irumuti Cōlaṉ Pirāṉāṉa Acañcalap Peraiyaṉ was given a pāṇapperu for singing in the temple of Tiruviṭaimarutūr and for training the Taḷiyiḷār to sing. The female counter parts of the pāṇar appear more frequently in the literature of this period. They sing in the temples during processions with the pāṇar[47]. Literature also refers to singers who sing in praise of the king on special occasions such as the royal coronation and consecration, and when the king went in procession.[48]

Like the other employees of the temple, musicians held their position hereditarily. They were remunerated in kind and were provided with living quarters.[49] The musicians in turn figure as donors in a number of inscriptions. A certain kaṭikaiyaṉ Uṭaiyār, a musician of the Rajarajeswara temple, deposited a capital sum, the interest of which was to be paid to five drummers who led with drums the procession of Ātavallār, and five musicians who played the *Tiruppavai* at the flag-hoisting festival.

Music was fostered as an art in the courts of kings. The kings themselves were proficient in music and composed songs which were sung in their own presence.[50] These kings are praised by poets as lovers of music. Jayaṅkoṇtār calls Kulottunga "paṇṇācai pūṇta Kulottuṅkan".[51] The epic hero Cīvakaṉ himself sings on many occasions and takes part in a yāḻ recital competition in *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*.[52] Kings patronised musical expositions presented on festival days. Rajaraja III attended the recital at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr temple on the Āvaṇi festival day.[53] The queens and princesses too were interested in music and were talented vocalists and handled instruments like the Vīṇa and yāḻ with great skill.[54] Puvaṉamuḻutuṭaiyāl, consort of Rajaraja III was a well accomplished lady and was proficient both in Iyal Tamil (Literary Tamil) and Icait Tamil (music) according to the king's Meykkīrtti (Panegyrics).[55] One of the queens of Kulottunga I was called Ēḻicai Vallapi. The king's meykkīrtti and the literature of the period eulogise her talents in the field of music.[56] She was known as Ēḻicai Vallapi because of her mastery in the musical work composed by her husband and her ingenuity in developing the Ēḻicai.

Rural folks contributed to the development of music in their own way during this period. The musical minded Tamils were involved in music not only while they worshipped but even while working, celebrating and relaxing.

The *Periya Purāṇam* presents Pulaiyā women singing while they pound rice[57] and the *Rāmāyaṇam* reflects the joy of Kaṭaiciyar who sing while they work in the pady fields.[58]

Musical instruments that were most common were the ones used to accompany the singing of Tiruppatikams like the Uṭukkai, Mattaḷam and the tāḷam. These instruments were used to keep time and rhythm. Tāḷam or cymbals was a metal instrument while the other two were percussion instruments. The Vīṇa seems to have been the popular string instrument in use. The vīṇa is mentioned as early as A.D. 994 of the time of Rajaraja I.[59] An inscription of the 10th year of Rajaraja registers a Vīṇaikkāṇi, an endowment offered to one who played the Viṇa in the temple.[60] The Mahesvarars and Śivabrahmanas and the Sabah of Vēppattūr provide a Vīṇaikkāṇi for a Śivabrahmana to play Vīṇa at the Tiruntu Tēvaṉkuṭi Arumavuntuṭaiyār temple.[61]

Opinion varies concerning the identity of the vīṇa and the yāḻ. It is apparent from Tiruttakka Tēvar's references to yāḻ and vīṇa that he considers both these instruments as identical.[62] The commentator Nacciṉārk kiṉiyar's notes too confirm this assumption. But *Kaliṅkattup Paraṇi*, *Mūvar Ulā*, and *Tiruvācakam* distinguish the vīṇa and yāḻ.[63] The yaḻ has fallen out of use after the Tevaram period while the viṇa remains a popular instrument for stage performances even today. Yaḻs were of several types-Periyaḻ, Makarayaḻ, Cakoṭa yaḻ and Ceṅkōṭṭuyāḻ. Civaka Cintāmaṇi speaks of Makara Vīṇa[64] and Carīra Vīṇa.

Inscriptions contain reference to an interesting list of more than thirty percussion instruments. Those that occur more often are the Uṭukkai, Matta'am, Muracu and Montai.[66] These with other instruments like the flute were not only used as accompaniment for Tēvāram singing but for dances too. The flute seems to be the only wind instrument known. An inscription of Parantaka I from Tiruvāvatuturai[67] refers to the maintenance of pipers, but whether this wind instrument was the Nātaswaram is not clear. Prof. Sambamoorthy thinks that the Nātaswaram was evolved much later. Records show that people not only maintained musicians, but also presented these instruments as gifts to the temple.[68]

It may be inferred that by the Cōḷa period the Tamils were familiar with a considerable amount of theoretical literature on music. The *Cilappatikāram* music system and the musical notes of the Kuṭumiyāmalai and Tirumayyam inscriptions are definite landmarks of development in this field. Ragas were evolved from srutis

of svaras. Vowel changes were adapted to form a variety of notes. New paṇs found their way into the South Indian musical system.

DRAMAS

Dance, music and drama were three very closely related forms of the theatre arts. Dance was differentiated from drama in a very narrow way. While dance or nāṭya represents the meaning of songs with gestures and movements, nāṭaka is an attempt to depict a story to the accompaniment of music. Both nāṭya and nāṭaka are derivatives of Nṛt in Sanskrit meaning dance. The Tamil term kūttu refers to both dance and drama. Whether there was any prose dialogue when these plays were performed is not certain.

Theatrical plays as such seem to have begun to be staged only during the time of Rajaraja, though incidentally an inscription of the 4th year of the Uttama Cōḻa[69] mentions the existence of Nāṭaka cālai at Tiruvitaimarutil. Earlier dance dramas have had incorporations of scenes from the life of Krishna and other legendary stories. The kuravaik kūttu of Mātavi was embellished with the Pāla kāṇṭam of Krishna in *Cilappatikāram*. Similar dance dramas called Āryak Kūttu, Cākkaikkūttu and Cāntikkūttu, were frequently staged in temples as mentioned earlier. Some were performed several times during the day[70]. Theatrical performances generally took place during religious festivals. The number of dances and dramas to be performed by each actor annually was specified. But they may have had the freedom to take part in other celeberations like marriages, and occasions of cultural and royal festivities. They could have also travelled with their troupes performing in different places within the village or town. Dramas performed in temples during special occasions and festivals were specifically designed for the masses and their themes were exclusively religious. These performances served to inculcate among the people a loyalty to the sovereign and love for the dramatic art and to disseminate religious ideas and ideals. There is no evidence of any permanent theatrical companies, and the actors and their troupes depended entirely on the patronage of kings and others.

The Rājarāja Nāṭakam composed during the reign of Rājarāja I is conjectured to be a story based on the life histroy of the king, his great deeds and the building of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore.[71] Rājendra II made an endownment of 130 kalams of paddy to be provided for Cāntikkūttaṉ Tiruvāḷan Tirumutu kuṉraṉ Āṉa Vijaya Rājendra Ācāryaṉ for enacting the play in the Tanjore temple on the Vaikāsi festival day.[72] The best actors were adorned

with titles like Rājarāja Nāṭakap periyāṉ. One of the recipients of this title was Hāsyaṉ Vikramātittaṉ Accaṉāṉa Rājarāja Nāṭakap periyāṉ. His title indicates that he was a good comedian.[73] A play written during the time of Kulottunga I was the *Pūmpuliyūr Nāṭakam*. We lack information regarding the staging of this play, but we learn that the writer was given a prize for his work.[74] The play was about Tiruppātirippuliyūr and probably discussed the important events of religious interest like the conversion of Appar to Jainism and how he turned back to the Śaiva faith, and the destruction of the Jain paḷḷi by Mahendran that took place in this village. Literature throws light on similar historical and religious plays being staged. The *Cīvaka Carittira Nāṭakam* like *Rājarāja Nāṭakam*, depicted the life of Cīvakan.[75]

The Nāṭaka cālai or the theatre was a necessary adjunct to the temple. Each temple had a theatre or at least a stage attached to it where dances and dramas were performed. Occasionally these were also the halls where the sabah met to hold its meetings.[76] An inscription of the 14th year of Uttama Cōḻa speaks of a certain Attāmaṉ Aiyāraṉāṉa Kaṇṭa Tōl kaṇṭap Payyaṉ erecting a Nāṭaka cālai maṇṭapa at the Tiruvatikai temple.[77] The Nāṭaka cālai at Tiruvāvaṭuturai was a Nāṉāvita Nāṭaka cālai.[78] It may be inferred from this name that it was a theatre intended for different forms of entertainment. Literature too has ample evidence of the existence of Nātaka cālais in each town and village.[79] No details regarding the architectural construction of these Nāṭaka cālais are available in the inscriptions or literature of this period.

Recreation

Recreation and amusements were not confined to merry making during festivals and to singing and dancing. There were many indoor and outdoor games for both men and women. The abundant literary references to feminine games reveal the fact that women had comparitively more leisure hours at their disposal than the men. Water sports and ball games seem to be the favourite games among women. It is interesting to note that the ball game which is popular among men today was confined to the ladies during the Cōḻa period. The ball game though vividly described in works like *Peruṅkatai*,[80] *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi* and *Periya Puranām*, does not show many variations. Hitting the ball on the ground was the most common form of this ball game.[81] This hitting game was also played with several balls at the same time as Vimalai does in *Cīvaka Cintāmaṇi*.[82] The play grounds were artistically designed.[83] The ladies played the ball game in organised groups and as individuals. While playing

in group they were divided into two equally divided teams.[84] The competition between these groups was based on the number of points each group could secure in hitting the ball on the ground. The group with the more number of points won.

The ladies very often went out swinging and diving. Literature depicts them in their jubiliant moods bathing in the water with their companions.[85] Water games too were many. Spraying coloured water on each other with syringes was one.[86] Cīvakaṉ's wives play at mock fighting in water.[87]

The ulās enumerate the different games played by girls during their different stages of life. Girls between the ages of five and eight are in the Pētai stage and are found playing with wooden dolls, toy houses and at mock cooking.[88] Ammāṉai, Kaḻaṅku and ball games seem to be popular among girls of maṅkai (11-14 years) and arivai (19-24 years) stages.[89] Ammāṉai is a game played with three seeds, by throwing and catching them and tying to keep one in the air. Ammāṉai songs are sung while playing this game. Individuals can play this game by themselves but it is commonly played in a team of three. Kaḻaṅku is a game played with Molucca bean seeds. The matantai (15-18 years) stage girls are interested in the swing.[90] The more mature women of the Terivai and Pēriḷam peṇ stage show a general interest in music and instruments and ball games The Petumpai stage girls between the ages of 9 and 10 are mentioned in connection with the nurturing of plants and pet animals and birds. This was a diversion especially for the ladies of the aristocracy. Favourite plants fostered by these women were Mullai, Kurukkatti and Mātavi, and parrots and deer were the common pets.[91] Besides these kitti (hopping)[92] and *Varai kūva*[93] (listening to echoes from mountains) are other pastimes mentioned in the literature of the Cōḻa period. Another favourite pastime of the women seems to what is called Kūṭal Iḻaittal in Tamil.[94] Though it can be considered a game it is more an attempt to forsee the future—if their heart's desire will be fulfilled. The girl who is in doubt about her future shuts her eyes and draws a circle on the ground. If both ends meet exactly, it signified that her desire would be fulfilled.

The preparation of scented powder was among the hobbies of the ordinary women.[95] They also found pleasure in strolling in flower gardens collecting flowers and making them into beautiful garlands,[96] and guarding padi fields[97] but the latter mentioned only in the *Ampikāpatik Kōvai* may have its tradition from the Caṅkam classics like the ōrai game and may have been added as a feminine pastime for conventional purposes.

Stray references to little boys playing with miniature chariots are met with works like *Periya Purāṇam.*[98] Though mention is made of games like hunting it was a preserve of the hunting class in the Cōḻa days.

Royal indulgence in this game gave it great prominence during the Vijayanagar period.[99] Boxing, archery and wrestling which were hobbies of the military class in ancient India[100] have evolved to be royal sports during the middle ages.[101] However, it would not be appropriate to conclude that these became exclusively aristoctatic sports, for literature speaks of both princes and the common men being trained in these sports.[102]

In the Vijayanagar period too wrestling is a common sport for both the noble men and the common folk. Gambling was a common pastime for both men and women.[103] The dice was a round nut called Vaṭṭu. Recreational centres varied according to the nature of the game or activity. Earlier works like *Tirukkuṟaḷ* refer to Kaḻakams as gambling centres[104] but Muruka Nāyaṉār in *Periya Purāṇam* is seen gambling at an ampalam or open hall.[105] Shooting and hunting were more occupational and men were given formal training in these arts in special halls called Kaḻakams and in parks.[106]

Though the bull-fight of the Caṅkam period fell out of practice, cattle raids were not unknown. Both inscriptions and literature bear evidence of such raids.[107] Animal fights have been a much loved amusement. Animals and birds like cocks, quails (cival), goats and elephants were pitted against each other.[108] Both the nobility and the common folk found this amusement exciting.[109] However it is difficult to accept M. Raghava Iyengar's interpretation of the phrase 'Sri Rājarāja Tēvar Kōḻip pōril ūttai aṭṭāmal' (S II ii p. 151) as his loyalists making endowments in order that their King (Rājāraja III) wins the cock fight suggesting an over indulgence of the royalty in this game. Epigraphists like E. Hultzsch interpret Kōḻippōr as the war that took place at Uṟaiyūr which was also known as Kōḻiyūr. Such games have been performed for the delectation of the kings during other periods too but no betting or competition is evident.

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[15] *Cilap.*, 3 : 14.

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83 C. C., S. 150, Nāmakaḷ Ilam.

84 Mūvar Ulā Vikrama Cōḷa II, 199–203.

85 Kult. Kōvai, S. 137 : (The Holy festival is observed as a water festival in Burma).

86 Mūvar Ulā Rājarāja Ulā, C. Cintāmaṉi, S. 2657. K. Rāmāyaṇam, Puṉal Vil, Paṭalam, S. 16.

87 C. Cintāmaṉi, S. 2655–56.

88 Rājarāja Ulā I, 148, Vikrama Cōḻaṉ Ulā, I, 116–120.

89 Vik. Cōḻan Ulā, Rājarāja I, 123–201·

90 Kul. Kōvai, S. 73.

91 *Mūvar Ulā, Vik. Cōḻaṉ Ula* I, 135, *Takka Yākap paraṇi*, S. 75, 76 *Ampikāpati kōvai*, 5268. C. C. Kuṇamālai, S. 4 Kult. Cōḻaṉ Ulā I, 217.

92 Karuvūr Tēvar. *Tiruvicaippā*, S. 3.

93 *Ampikāpati Kovai*, S. 16, C. C., 1319.

94 *Kult. Kōvai*, S. 320, C. C., S. 1037, *Kunamālai Ilampakam.*

95 *C. Cintāmaṇi, Kunamālai Ilampakam*, S. 876.

96 *C. Cintāmaṇi*, S. 1319–20. *Patumaiyār Ilampakam.*

97 *Ampikāpati Kōvai*, S. 172, I 1–4.

98 *P. Purāṇam, Tiruññaṉa Campantar*, S. 1950.

99 Salatore, *Social and Political Life in Vij.*, VII, p. 416, 337 of 1908.

100 *Paṭṭiṉappālai*, 59–77, Puram, 80.

101 *Kal. Paraṇi*, S. 277, II, 1–4.

102 Kal. Paraṇi, S. 277. *Rāmāyaṇam Nāṭṭuppaṭalam*, S. 48. *Kula Murai Kiḻattuppaṭalam*, 743.

103 *K. Rāmāyaṇam Mitilaik Kāṭcippatalam*, S. 19. Mūvar Ulā Kult., S. 302.

104 *Tirukkuraḷ*, Vaḷḷuvar, S. 935.

105 *P. Purāṇam, Muruka Nāyaṉār*, S. 8.

106 *K. Rāmāyaṇam, Nāṭṭuppaṭalam*, S. 48.

107 S. II, Vol. III, 268, *C. Cintāmaṇi*, S. 417, *Kōvintaiyār Ilampakam.*

108 *C. C. Nāmakaḷ Ilampakam*, S. 73, 120. *P. Purāṇam, Sundarar*, S. 3187. Kal. Paraṇi, S. 277.

109 *P. Purāṇam*, S. 155.

Tamil Emigration to the Martinique

Xavier S. Thani Nayagam

The Beginnings

0.1. One of the most comprehensive reports to be published in the last century concerning Indian immigration was the report of Mr. Geoghegan, Under Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce. This report which was entitled *Copy of Mr. Geoghegan's report on Coolie Emigration from India* was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed (21 July, 1874). After 143 pages of closely printed matter in which the entire history of migrations to various British and French colonies is reported with a great mass of details concerning the Acts and procedures and the present state of the Indians in these colonies, the Under Secretary concludes his elaborate study with the statement:

> "As to the French colonies of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Cayenne, the Government of India is absolutely ignorant of the condition of Indian emigrants there"—*Geoghegan, 1873 : 144.*

This statement was made in 1874, while ships from Pondicherry and Karikal were yet taking shiploads of Tamil and Telugu migrants to Martinique and Guadeloupe. In 1874 when the statement was made there were as many as 10,063 labourers already in the Martinique and this migration was to continue until 1884 with the authorisation of the Government of India, until it was discontinued because of the differences which arose between the Government of India and the Governments of the French territories concerning the implementation of agreements and regulations controlling immigrants.

0.2. The beginnings of Indian migration in the modern period are not absolutely certain, and contradictory and conflicting statements have been made as to when the first migrations commenced and to which country. There has been immigration during the European phase from South India to Ceylon, to South East Asia and Africa. The Portuguese and the Dutch took their Indian subjects to their other colonies such as Java and Malacca in the tropics. It is however with the British and French periods of colonial policy that *Immigration* begins to be an organized movement sponsored and regulated by agreements between governments.

0.3. Though the movement is recorded as beginning with the abolition of slavery in the British dominions in 1834 and in the French territories in 1848, Tamil migrations in the modern period had commenced even earlier. The earliest emigration seems to have commenced towards the end of the 18th century from the South of India to the Straits Settlements and to the Tenasserim Provinces of Burma. Ceylon, of course, attracted Indian Tamil labour from India at the end of the 18th century, as it attracted in previous centuries as well. With the advent of the British, and the needs of plantation development, emigration to Ceylon increased. Emigration to the French colony of Burbon (now Reunion) commenced also in the late 18th century, but no precise data are available concerning the early years of immigration. The labourers were recruited from the French settlements of Pondicherry. Karikal and Chandranagore or from the adjoining British territories in Madras or Calcutta. Isolated evidence for the pre-1834 period is available. The commissioner of Police in Calcutta, Captain Birch stated in 1838 that he believed emigration to Mauritius and Bourbon to date from about 1819. In 1830 a French merchant, Joseph Argand carried some 130 artisans to Bourbon on contract. The contracts were considered liberal, eight rupees in addition to an ample dietary was the minimum monthly wage and the contract was for *five* years.

Reunion was the French colony which provided the incentive and the example for other French colonies to import Indian labour. Even before the abolition of slavery in the French colonies (1848), Reunion had several Indians, domestics and artisans who had migrated because of its close administrative connections and the French possessions in India. In 1848 there were already 4,631 Indians in the Reunion, most of them free cultivators on contract. With the abolition of slavery the importation of Indian labour was accelerated. In 1849, 8,078 coolies were introduced into Reunion, and the success of Indian labour in the Reunion and in the English colonies of the Carribean and Mauritius was repeatedly cited in other French colonies in support of the demand to import Indian labour. In 1859, the number of Indians in the Reunion was 37,005. In the same year the number of Indians in the Martinique was 6,506 and in Guadeloupe 5,006 (J-F. Dupon. 2).

Situation in the Martinique

1.0. Slavery was abolished in the Martinique in the year 1848, and was the occasion for many slaves to abandon the sugar and other plantations on which they had worked. The negroes were parti-

cularly averse to working in agricultural estates since it was in these estates that they had been forcefully employed. The economy of the islands was very much dependent on labour, and an attempt was made to recruit labour from Madeira and from Europe, but the experiment proved a failure. The Governor and his advisers as well as the Ministry for the colonies advocated the introduction of Indian labour which they observed had been such a success in the Reunion islands. *Le Moniteur de la Martinique* stated in an article, February 4, 1855 Vol. I, No. 4, that the British having tried Germans, Irish, Portuguese, Maltese and Africans finally found that the Indians were the saviours in Damerera, Jamaica, Trinidad and ten other colonies. On September 13, 1851 the Governor of Martinique who earlier in 1850 thought that imported labour could be only an interim solution, admitted that immigration was " une des nécessités de l'époque " and that it was indispensable and urgent. It was estimated that more than 7,000 agriculturists were necessary to continue the work on the plantations so that the economy might not fail. The planters themselves were most anxious that Indian labour should be recruited for the Martinique and various reasons were advanced, such as the success of Indian Labour in the Burbon islands: the need in the Martinique for an intermediary ethnic group which would soften the ethnic rivalries already found among existing groups in the island, and the 'les noirs' were inconsistent and irregular whereas the Indians were docile, hardworking and belonged to an enlightened country and people, and labour would be cheap. There were others who argued in favour of immigration from Africa because the Africans would be able to acclimatise themselves more easily and would integrate better with the existing population of African origin. The opponents of Indian immigration added that the Indians belonged to a soft and lakadaisical race and would not be able to stand the rigours of perpetual rain, the cold and fever. The Governors however of both Guadeloupe and Martinique favoured simultaneous immigration, *i.e.*, from Africa and India. A proprietor planter from François in Martinique wrote to Mr. St. Remy in Paris (28 August, 1851) that he would not demand labourers from Europe since the few who had been introduced in the colony had given bad example and spread nefarious doctrines the evil results of which they were experiencing in the Martinique. He looked both to India and to Africa for Labour (*Revert. 46*).

1.2. In the African continent, Madeira, the Canary islands and even the Azores were considered places which could be exploited for labour (*Bom.* 1852 : 350). Accordingly the necessary legislation was passed and the conditions of immigration, of repatriation,

of re-employment and of permanent residence were cautiously stipulated from time to time. These decrees and contracts of labour followed the same pattern as for immigration to other countries, but were not always so strictly observed in the Antilles (*Bom.* 1852. 352-59).

1.3. French legislative enactments sought to keep in line with the administrative measures introduced by the Government of India to regulate emigration on the introduction of labourers to the colonies. A special agent had to be appointed at the place of emigration ; he was to obtain individually the consent of those embarking as immigrant labour ; the recruits were subject to a medical inspection and had to live in depots prior to embarkation ; the ship itself had to be inspected in France prior to its departure for the country from which the immigrants embarked, and the food, clothing, medical attention, separation of men from women, and disciplinary action for indiscipline during the voyage, were all provided for. A medical doctor delegated by the Government accompanied each convoy. On arrival the commission of immigration had to check if regulations concerning the infirmary, pharmacy, kitchen, clothing, etc., had been observed. The Commissioner had to verify the number of immigrants, and report on cases of death during the voyage and disease. The expenses of this entire machinery of immigration was met in principle by the employers, but gradually both the local and metropolitan governments were compelled to bear more and more of the costs.

1.4. The prescriptions for the welfare of the immigrants were carefully drawn up, but were not faithfully observed. The immigrants complained of forced recruitment, of having been deceived by false promises, and of bad treatment during the voyage. Neither were the immigrants of exemplary conduct, judging by the number of suicides, and of the criminal offences they committed. The Government sought to remedy the abuses and constantly was reminded by Paris to look after the welfare of the immigrants. The British consul in Martinique constantly repeated his complaints to the Governor of Martinique of the failure of the Government to comply with the terms of agreement concerning labourers. However, it was generally believed in Martinique itself that the conditions for the immigrants in the Martinique were far better than those obtaining in Trinidad. The immigrant had the right to be repatriated after five years or to be paid a sum equal to the costs of repatriation. Repatriation was stipulated for the labourer, his wife and non-adult children, provided the labourer was not subject at the time to criminal or corrective punishment.

Transport

1.5. The decree of March 27, 1852 said that in order to augment the agricultural potential of the island, the business of transportation of immigrant labour could not be trusted to free enterprise, but was being confided to a Captain Blanc who already had satisfactory experience of transporting emigrants between India and the Reunion islands. Captain Blanc was given a contract to supply a maximum of 4,000 Indians to Guadeloupe and Martinique within six years. The first two convoys were to bring at least 300 migrants each. Captain Blanc was to be paid 250 francs for an adult, 150 francs for a non-adult. Women had to form at least a sixth of each convoy. Accordingly on 6th May, 1853 the first ship of Indians arrived in the French ship *Aurelie* from Karikal with 318 immigrant labourers. After three sailings, Captain Blanc was replaced on 26th October 1854, by Campion et Therould Company which by contract with the Government was to supply 10,000 labourers by 1858. On 6th December, 1855, Campion et Therould were replaced by the *Compagnie Générale Maritime.* On 7th June, 1857 a Society for Emigration was formed of 16 French commercial firms in India for the purpose of recruiting Indian labour for the French colonies. They appointed a Chief Agent for immigration in Pondicherry with an assistant in Karikal. In 1862 February 4, the *Confiance* which brought 402 immigrants from Pondicherry and Karikal was the last ship of the Compagnie Gènèrale Maritime to bring Tamil migrants. In 1862 the Minister for Colonies wrote to the Conseil Général to state that outside of the Franco-British accord, there was no possibility of recruiting Indian labour since French possessions in India were insufficient for that purpose. In 1862 and 1863 there was no immigration of Indian labour.

1.6. After 1862 there was no *exclusive* contract but sailings were free, and a fair number of the ships which sailed to the Martinique with labour, were British. However, when in 1863 the Conseil Générale decided to have recourse once again to Indian labour, an agreement was signed dated 20th April, 1864 between the Government of Martinique and the *Compagnie générale transatlantique* for the transport of labourers recruited in India. The signatories were M. Gabriel Coutarier representing the Government, and M. Charles Borde representing the Company. According to the Agreement, in 1864 and 1865, 1,400 Indian immigrants were to be introduced. The women were to be between 14 and 30 years; the men between 16 and 36. Children over ten were to be considered as adults, and children under ten of both sexes were not to form more than a tenth of the contingent. This classification was to be

made before their departure from India, and the company was not to refuse to receive and transport all the children accompanying their mothers. Article 4 of the Agreement explicitly stated that workers from India destined for the Martinique were to be embarked exclusively from the French ports of Pondicherry, Karikal or Yanaon or from the ports of the Madras Presidency. The Company was to provide each éngagé some clothing for the journey, a pair of trousers and a shirt (pantalon, chemise) for the men, cloth (pagne) for the women, a blanket sheet for each person, and clothing of wool necessary for passing through the lower latitudes. These articles of clothing became the property of the immigrant. The Company was to be paid for each living adult immigrant they landed, the sum of 415 francs and 55 centimes. Children under ten years were not to be paid for. The ship was also to stock a stipulated quantity of rice as food for the Indians.

The Company was to have a sailing to Martinique at least once a year, and from 1865 were to take back to India contingents of repatriates for whom stipulated sums would be paid.

291 francs per person, if total of repatriates was below 50.

242 francs 50 c. per person, if total of repatriates was below 100.

194 francs per person, if total was below 100 or over.

In lieu of repatriation labourers were paid 250 francs.

1.7. That the vast majority of migrants to the Martinique were Tamil speakers is also evident from the provisions made for the celebration of the Pongal festivities in the Martinique. It was stipulated in the *Contrat d', engagement de travail* (1858) that every year at the end of the year, a four day holiday shall be given in order that the *indiens* might celebrate the feast of Pongal.

1.8. The sailings of ships from Karikal and Pondicherry were followed with great concern in Martinique; delays and number of coolies expected were notified, and the official newspapers which published all available information about sailings also published lists of planters with the number of labourers they were prepared to employ. The demand was far in excess of the supply and therefore *A Committee for Immigration* (1861) decided on the number of labourers they would be prepared to allocate each year to each plantation or company. Agricultural and industrial concerns were divided into four categories for consideration of priority in the allocation of migrant labour. *The Moniteur* published periodically

the names of proprietors, the number of labourers they requested, and the number actually allocated to them. On 2 August 1855, the *Moniteur* which published regularly the list of proprietors who asked for labour, stated the total number of labourers requested was 3,331. For example, the following were registered under the serial number assigned to them.

No. 124 MM. Brafin, request for 30 labourers.

No. 125 Leon Birot, request for 25 labourers.

No. 128 E. Eustache, request for 150 labourers.
(fifty to be alloted each year for three years.)

Between 11 March and April 1, 1856, 153 proprietors asked for a total 3,351 labourers, the number requested by the proprietors varying from 6 to 150. A fresh list of applicants for labour was published on 19 April, 1857 where 283 proprietors requested for a total of 6,032 labourers.

The official newspaper gives the dates of departure of ships from the Indian ports, and the dates of their arrival in the Antilles. For example, there is record of the *Hampden* which left Pondicherry on 22 September 1856 with 570 persons - men 440, women 81, children (m) non-adults 36, children (f) not adults 2, infants and non engagés 11. Again on the 11th December, the newspaper announces that the *Hampden* has arrived at San Pierre with 549 Indians and 4,430 sacks of rice. The *Moniteur* published on 10 January 1856 that the ship *Indien*, was not able to leave Pondicherry till December 1855, and it could be expected to arrive in Martinique in March 1856. On 14 February information was received from the Ministre de la Marine that the ship *Indien* sailed from Pondicherry on 4 December 1855 with 650 immigrant labour. The ship arrived on March 11 (*see* Appendix 1. *List of Sailings between India and Martinique.*).

Franco-British Agreement, 1861

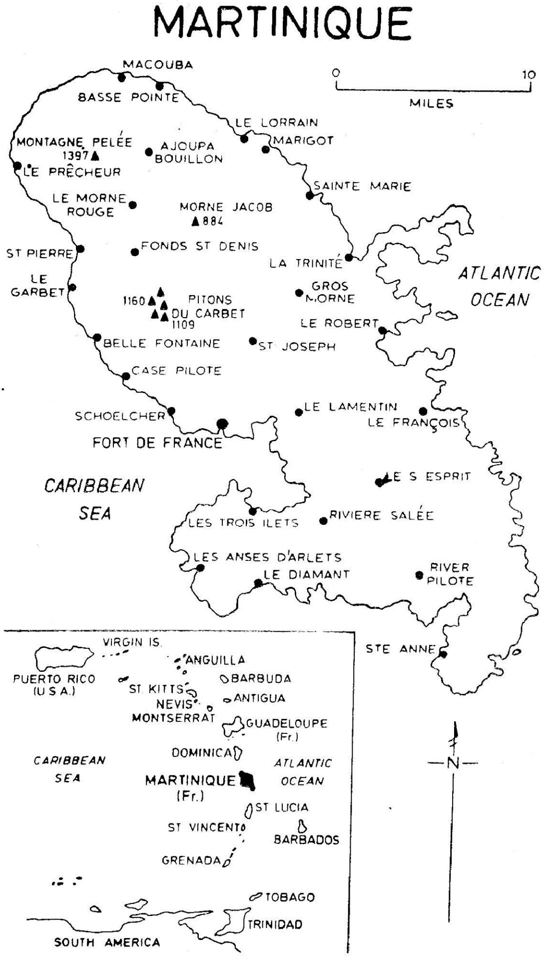
2.0. The French possessions in India were not large enough to provide adequate labour for all the French colonies. There were complaints, particularly on the Coromandel coast that British subjects were being decoyed and kidnapped and this led to preventive legislation in India; (Act XXIV of 1852). From that date negotiations proceeded with the French Government and an Act was passed (India Act XLVI of 1860) to permit contracts to be made " for labour to be performed in the French colonies of Reunion,

Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana under conditions similar to those in force in the British colonies." (*Sanderson Report*, 5.) On July 1, 1861, a Convention was signed between France and Great Britain concerning the conditions under which labour could be recruited and employed. The convention was promulgated by the French Government on August 10.

The second clause of Article 9 provided for the repatriation of the labourer, and of his wife, and children born in the colonies. The labourers were to be given a contract of five years after which they could renew their contract or be repatriated. If they remained in the island without a renewal of their contract, they lost the right to be repatriated. The labourer was required to work on six days out of seven, and for nine and a half hours each day (Art. 10). Sailings of emigrant vessels to ports east of the Cape of Good Hope were permitted any time of the year. For other colonies including Martinique, the period of sailing had to be between the 1st of August and the 15th March. This restriction applied only to sailing vessels; steamships, however, could take immigrants any month of the year (Art. 10). A European doctor and an interpreter were provided for. Any person over ten years of age was considered an adult emigrant, and two children between the years of one and ten could be counted as one adult. The women and children were to be accommodated on the ship in positions different from the men. Because of complaints which arose during periods of transportation, further restrictions were imposed on the movement of men to other parts of the ship and *maistrys* were appointed to supervise discipline and be intermediaries between the officers and the emigrants (Art. 14). Each contingent of migrants was to have at least an one-fourth proportion of women to men, and later be increased to the same proportion as in the British colonies. It was also defined that the same convention applied to Indian immigration to the Reunion, Martinique, Guadeloupe and their dependencies, and to French Guiana. As a result of this accord recruiting agencies were to be established in Calcutta, Yanaon, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe, Madras and Bombay.

Progress of Immigration

3.0. In order to ensure a safe working of the plans of immigration, a commission was set up (1853) consisting of M.M.L. Hayot and M. de Percin Northumb, proprietor planters of sugar who were authorised to travel to Trinidad and Barbados on the ship '*Chimère*' to study the agriculture and economy and, the conditions of Indian and Chinese workers, and to make "practical and perceptible recommendations for the exploitation of agriculture in the


MARTINIQUE
MACOUBA
0 10
MILES
BASSE POINTE
LE LORRAIN
MARIGOT
MONTAGNE PELÉE
1397
AJOUPA BOUILLON
LE PRÊCHEUR
SAINTE MARIE
LE MORNE ROUGE
MORNE JACOB
884
ST PIERRE
FONDS ST DENIS
LA TRINITÉ
ATLANTIC OCEAN
LE GARBET
1160
PITONS DU CARBET
1109
GROS MORNE
LE ROBERT
BELLE FONTAINE
ST JOSEPH
CASE PILOTE
SCHOELCHER
LE LAMENTIN
LE FRANÇOIS
FORT DE FRANCE
CARIBBEAN SEA
LE S ESPRIT
LES TROIS ILETS
RIVIERE SALÉE
LES ANSES D'ARLETS
LE DIAMANT
RIVER PILOTE
STE ANNE
N
VIRGIN IS.
ANGUILLA
PUERTO RICO (U.S.A.)
BARBUDA
ST KITTS
NEVIS
ANTIGUA
MONTSERRAT
GUADELOUPE (Fr.)
DOMINICA
CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MARTINIQUE (Fr.)
ST LUCIA
ST VINCENT
BARBADOS
GRENADA
TOBAGO
TRINIDAD
SOUTH AMERICA

Martinique." (*Bom*. 1853 p. 271.) The Governor of the Martinique appointed on March 19, 1854 a Commission to study the question of Indian and Chinese migration on a large scale. The members of the Commission were

M. de Percin Northumb. President du Comité agricole central, President

Maxwell, negoçiant

W. Clerc, habitant

P. Herne, negoçiant

E. Evistache, habitant.

They were also to hold discussions with Captain Blanc at St. Pierre concerning the provisions of the decree of 27 March 1852.

As the process of immigration and repatriation accelerated, more functionaries were appointed to dispose of immigrants and more detailed legislation was passed in areas which had not been legislated for, or in which abuses had crept in. By a ministerial decree of 5 September, 1866, the Martinique had to send to Paris an *état* of immigrants introduced into the Martinique. It was stipulated that after the lapse of the first contract a month should elapse before the renewal of a contract. In 1879 (*Bom*. 1879 pp. 285-6) it was decreed that every immigrant had to obtain a certificate from the Chef du service de l'immigration to leave the country. No ship was to take him as a passenger without such a certificate. This had become necessary because "experience had shown that Indian immigrants had a tendency to break their contract by employing false papers." In 1881 the office of Immigration is organised with two second class syndics at Lamentin, Saint Esprit, Marin and Diamant, and the Chief Syndic (first class) at St. Pierre.

3.1. In 1862, a letter of the Minister communicated to the Conseil Général admitted that outside of the 1861 Franco-British agreement there was no means of procuring Indian immigrants since the French establishments in India were insufficient for the purpose, and that it was British tolerance which made it possible for the French agents to recruit in British territory. A ministerial circular from Paris dated June 1, 1865 made further stipulations concerning convoys, that the Captain was in charge of the ship and the delegate of Government came immediately after. The migrants were to be divided in groups of 20, each group having a mestry at its head. The mestrys were chosen jointly by the Captain and the Government delegate.

The language of the vast majority of these migrants was Tamil, and the Martiniquian Government provided for a Tamil interpreter to be stationed in the Martinique. In 1854 one Monty Lazar was the interpreter. He was of high caste, and the policy was to keep such persons of education among the labourers so that they could be intermediaries between the labourers and Government (*Bom.* 1854 : 816-817). In 1868 among the officers for immigration one Nelson Felix is mentioned as an interpreter for Tamil. (*Annuaire de la Martinique* 1868 ; 121.) In 1876 there is financial provision made for an official Tamil interpreter.

3.2. The official statistics published in the Martinique are not to be considered absolutely exact. For instance of July 1, 1870, the total number of Indian immigrants was supposed to be 9,960. In September of the same year, the Commissioner of immigration caused a census to be taken of Indian immigrants in all the *habitations* (plantations, estates).

The following figures were given :

Employed by contract	4,077
Re-employed	1,675
Awaiting repatriation	2,720
Registered with municipalities	34
Absent for various reasons	510
	9,016

The commissioner explained the difference of 1,604 persons of the July total who could not be accounted for, by the following reasons :

(*a*) the failure of municipalities to inform concerning births or deaths, or the failure of those responsible to communicate with municipalities concerning births and deaths :

(*b*) the sick and those of bad repute had not been entered in the census :

(*c*) Vagabonds had not been counted :

(*d*) there were immigrants who had left for other countries without informing the authorities.

The last two reasons seem to be the most likely. In 1874 one Mr. Porry seems to have founded a private company for the transport

of emigrants from India. There is record of a ship commandeered by him, the *British Navy* arriving from Calcutta with 280 men, 86 women and 42 children.

3.3. Towards the year 1880, the area of recruitment of labour permitted to the French in British India consisted of fourteen districts of the then Madras presidency and included areas of the present states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Kannada. Partly because of the objections raised by the Government of India, and partly because of the mobility of Indian labour, on 18 December 1884, the Conseil General of Martinique decided that it would not finance any more immigration of Indian labour. It also decided not to renew any contracts of labourers. At this period according to the administration there were altogether 13,271 Indians of whom 5,079 were engaged as contract labour on plantations and 8,192 were free. From 1884 there were no official arrival of immigrants, but the pace of repatriation gets accelerated. The following figures illustrate the pace of repatriation.

Year	*Repatriated*
1884	281
1885	818
1886	1791
1890	879
1891	569
1893	227
1894	2024
1895	228

In 1889 the repatriation was probably effected by also the French steamship the *Nantes-Bordeaux* which left Fort-de-France for Pondicherry on 7 September. On 10 December 1890 the Conseil Général decreed that those repatriated should be sent to Marseilles by the steamships (paquebots) of the Compagnie générale transatlantique and transhippped from there to India in the ships of the Messageries Maritimes.

3.4. A communication from Paris dated April 5, 1889 stated that the British Government had interdicted the recruitment of Indian labour for the Antilles in their territories. This prevention was equally applicable to the Reunion, and the reason alleged by the British was that the rights of immigrants in the French colonies were subject to the interests of the Colons (employers). In 1891 *Bom.* (1891. 489) states that a Doctor Comins was visiting the island charged by the Government of British India with a mission

related to immigration. He was to be accompanied on his visit by a Mr. Mangee inspector of prisons in the Martinique. This was no doubt, Surgeon Major Comins who in 1891 visited the British, Dutch, and French possessions in the West Indies and issued reports to the British Government. (Sanderson Report 1910. 6). Particulars are available for those repatriated in the last year (1900) of repatriation: 494 were sent to Pondicherry, 379 for Karikal, and 1 for Calcutta. On 31 December 1900 there were left in Martinique a total of 3,764 the vast majority of whom were Tamil speakers. In 1901, November, an interesting statement was made at an ordinary meeting of the Conseil General that it was learnt that those who had left in the last convoy for India (1900) had literally died of famine in India, and that 27 of them had returned to the Martinique from Chandernagor. This statement was rather tendentious. It is not seen how only one was repatriated to Calcutta in 1900 but 27 returned from Chandernagor, unless those who were disembarked at Pondicherry and Karikal found their way to Chandernagor to take ship to the Martinique. This eventuality, however, is most unlikely, but labourers previously repatriated to Bengal may have returned at their own expense (*Comins*. 2. 25).

3.5. From 1853 to 1883, 25,509 Indian immigrants were admitted to Martinique, and the centre of recruitment for these migrants was Pondicherry and the area of recruitment the former Madras Presidency and the French territories in South India. There were altogether about 55 sailings from India in which they arrived, of which only about four were from Calcutta, the rest being from Pondicherry and Karikal. In the year 1867, most of the 2,200 immigrants introduced (1,510 men, 482 women and 228 children), came from upper Bengal which had been ravaged by a famine. Mortality was quite high among these migrants because of the rigours of the long voyage and the difference in climate from that obtaining in the homeland. The following statistics about migration from 1853 to 1900 speak for themselves.

Number of Migrants admitted	25,509
Births in Martinique	5,631
Deaths	15,425
Repatriated	11,951
Number remaining in Martinique as on 31 December 1900	3,764

Other sources of recruitment of labour were the British colonies in the Carribean and nearby. In 1852 some Indians entered

Martinique from islands in the Carribean especially from Trinidad. In 1853 various *caboteurs* introduced 83 Indians who took employment in Martinique at the expiry of their contract in the British colonies. By 26 March 1856 this number had increased to 119. In 1853, the Government directed employers not to entertain coolies who migrated from Trinidad without express permission from the authorities in Trinidad (*Journal officiel*. 6 October 1853), and a visa from the French consul. Those from Cote-Ferme were not to be entertained since they were deserters.

Personal Names

It is not easy to trace the history of the 3,764 persons who were found in the Martinique at the dawn of this century. The vast majority of migrants at the time of migration were Hindoos as is evident from the surnames current in the Martinique. Though all of them or their offspring nominally were inscribed in the Catholic faith, they did not change their original Hindu names of gods and goddesses; the Christian names were often prefixed to their Hindu-Tamil names. They were not compelled to drop them as it often happened with converts in the mother country. Many of them worked in the plantations where they gradually acquired small plots of land of which they became owners. By a letter of 10th November, 1853 the Direction des Colonies sanctioned the use of 100 Indian coolies for work on public roads (aux travaux des routes); they continued to work on public roads during this century. The Telephone Directory of Martinique provides a few Tamil and Telugu names which help one to trace the province of origin of the ancestors of subscribers. The name *Nayaṟadou*, for instance is recognized as a French colonial version of *Naidu*. When asked for the names of Indian families, they knew, informants rattled off "Suppama, Rangon, Nallavan, Moukan, Caitan, Narayana, Muttukumaru, Sandikalai, Catan, Marimoutou", which were obviously Tamil names completely gallicised in accent and even in spelling. In certain Catholic parishes which had had populations of Tamil speakers, baptismal records revealed names of indubitably Tamil origin. *e.g.* At Basse-Pointe

1900: Antoniamma, Sinama, Letchimy, Marie Moutama, Letchiminy, Menatchi, Govindan, Mariapin, Toulcanu (Tulukan? Muslim?), Moutama, Moutassamy.

1901–2: Cellamma, Rengasamy, Mariamal, Louise Ammal, Moothammal.

1912: Poungavanam, Josephine Pounga, Caroupaye, Velaye, Sookudam, Papaya (Telugu?).

1913: Virapin, Sinama.

1920: Pothin Chinama, Jeanne Sellaye, Joseph Sellaye, Augustin Rangassamy, Angele Kalimoutou, Eugene Govindin, Josephine Chinamal, Bruno Carpin (Karupan).

At Trinité, the following families with Tamil names were found :

Edourd Moutamalle, Chinan Moutamalle, Lingam Moutamalle, Francoise Moutoussamy, Moute, Saarabany, Singamalon, Govindassamy, Pavede (Parvati), Caroupin, Rangon, Ainama.

The presbytery at Saint-Pierre is located in a large orchard. This important town was destroyed by the eruption of Mont Pelèe in 1902. The older records were destroyed during the eruption, but from the list of names the Parish Priest has of those school boys and girls to whom he gives religious instruction, he was able to read out the surnames of children who were of Indian origin, or had Indian names.

e.g. Gaubal, Govalsamy, Moutama, Moukin, Virayie, Mouniama, Vilar, Virayie, Palamy, Virapin, Virayie, Viraye, Ramassamy, Alamel, Alamelou, Perumal, Perumal, Moutussamy, Karupayee, Ponamma, Narayanan, Narayan, Naray, Noroyamin, Velayuthom, Veerasamy.

At Morne-Rouge, the Book of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials. revealed further names :

Nayaradou, Sinama, Virassamy, Chinan, Coupon, Moutamal, Nayoranin, Waitilingon, Sirangon, Virail, Virapin, Mouilon, Alamelou, Coupon, Nallamoutou, Marimuttou.

From an old resident of Morne Rouge, I gathered other names:

Arokiam, Narayanan, Nallamuttu, Mookan.

Two informants whose names were respectively Moutucumarou and Vaitilingom said they thought their grand parents had come from Ceylon.

4.2. A name which might be suspected as Portuguese in origin, and borne by a Bengali Christian family, was Gamess. This name might be thought to be a variant of Gomez. The young Indian employee in the Schoelchero, Library, explained that his father had told him, that he remembered his own father who migrated from India mentioning that the original name was Ganesh or Ganesha. The young man was not aware as to when the change from Ganesha to Gamess took place. The information concerning the change from Ganesha to Gamess should be a warning against hasty conclusions concerning the origin of personal names.

4.3. The original Indian names were gallicized in their spelling and pronounciation according to the auditory and transliterating

system of the officers (or priests) who wrote down the names in the registers. Hence the same name is spelt differently in different families. That the early migrants were particular about the utterance of their names is evident from what some of the Catholic priests stated that the elders insist, for instance, that in a name like *Moutamalle*, the name should be spelt with a double ' l ' followed by an ' e '. This insistence was, no doubt, in order that the Tamil lateral ' l ' with which the name is spelt in the original might be made clear in French pronounciation and writing.

4.4. In the study of the Martiniquians of Indian origin it should be possible to make a study of the names themselves and trace their ethno-linguistic origin *e.g.* Tamil, Telugu, Malayalee, though Tamil names predominate. Perhaps, the voters list would provide a complete and reliable source for such names. It will be observed, however, that some feminine first names have become surnames *e.g.* Moutamalle, Chinamal. During the first period when registration was made, there must have been a great deal of misunderstanding concerning Indian names particularly because of the lack of interpreters. A correspondent from the Martinique has recently informed me that he has collected over 1,800 names of Indian origin, and hopes to collect even more. These 1,800 names have been collected from names published in official records for various purposes. It should also be possible to check these names with the lists of names of the migrants which should be available in the Archives of the French Ministry for Colonies, since records in the Martinique may have been destroyed.

Group Life

5.1. The presence of the Indians in the Martinique does not appear to have been noticed by Martinique's early historians or by visitors to the Martinique. The Rev. Joseph Janin C. S. Sp. in his book *Les dioceses coloniaux* (imprimerie d' Auteuil, Paris 1938, 363 p.) contains no reference to the ethnic composition of the Catholic community, and has only one reference of any sociological import concerning the Indians, namely, that feasts ceremonies and processions were very popular among the negroes and the Indians. One searches in vain in the travel books of the last century or in the accounts of the great disasters which Martinique suffered, the tempest of 1891 and the Earthquake of Mont Pelée in 1902, for some reference to the Indians. In no page of Lafcadio Hearne *Two years in the French West Indies*, (New York, 1890) or in George Kennan's *The Tragedy of Pelée* (the Outlook Company, New York, 1902, 257 p.), is there a single reference to the Indians whom the

authors must have seen in the plantations as well as in the towns, and whose distinctive appearance could not have but struck even the casual visitor. In studies concerning the Martinique, the Hindoos were of no consequence for the study of the economy or for the study of the culture as J. B. Delawarde observes in his *La vie paysanne a la Martinique.* (Fort de France, 1937. 21.)

> " Pratiquement, les éléments caraïbes et asiatiques peuvent être négligés et d'autre part, pour ce qui concerne notre étude, less Hindous ne comptent guére."

5.2. Writers on the different groups of the Martinique have pointed out that the position the descendants of Indian migrants occupied in this century is the lowest rung of the social ladder. Since the Indians took over work in the plantations which the African slaves themselves had performed earlier the Africans themselves despised them since they associated work on the plantations with slavery. Further, the transfer of people into a climate and a social milieu very different from that to which they had been used, must have been the cause for grave emotional conflicts. While in the Reunion islands, the migrants were comparatively near to the mother country and were in large numbers, in the Guadeloupe and Martinique they were a small minority at the Antipodes of India. They entered Martinique in an atmosphere of hostility not only on the part of the Africans whom they displaced, but also on the part of a section of whites themselves some of whom, as the newspaper reports of the period show, were not in agreement with the scheme to recruit labour from India. The *Bulletin officiel de la Martinique*, and *Le Moniteur de Martinique* have been compelled by criticism in the early years to defend Government policy in choosing migrant labour from India (*Bom.* 1852. 348). The newspapers said that Indian labour had saved the economy of the Reunion Islands and restored it to its former state in ten years. The advocates of recruitment from China and Africa as against India, pointed to the lassitude of the Indians by nature and their inadaptability to different climatic conditions (*Victor Schoelcher*, 1883. 110).

5.3. From the beginning of Indian migration, the word ' coolie ' was so used in official documents that it came to mean the original and derivative sense of the Tamil word, someone who is a hired labourer. In Martiniquian language, the word today contains no disgrace attached to it. A professor in high school informed me that in his school, the companions might halloo an Indian student ' coolie ' and no offence would be taken. The Indians use the term ' coolie ' of themselves without any shade of semantic stigma.

5.4. There are persons alive in the Martinique who remember children pelting stones at Indians when they appeared on the roads since they were considered strange bogey men. There are sayings current in Creole speech which regarded the Indians as physically weak and perpetuated an image of their eating cocoanuts by the way side and of eating dog flesh. 'Faible comme un coolie', 'hypocrite comme une femelle coolie' are current sayings which have been cited (*Leiris*. 139). On the other hand several others, planters and priests, long familiar with the Indians consider them intelligent, technically skilled and hard-working. On the other hand the Indians themselves, especially the older ones, look down on the negro and his descendants. Notwithstanding the prejudices of colour and of race, marriage of Indians with mulattos and descendants of Africans began to take place. The offspring of an inter-marriage between an Indian woman and a coloured or negro man are known as 'chappès coolies' or persons who have escaped from the social rank of a coolie into a higher rank.

5.6. After a legal process in 1904–1906, the Indians were as much entitled to political rights as the rest of the population, and since 1923 Indian descendants are as much obliged to military service as other groups in the French West Indies. The descendants of the 3,764 left in the Martinique in 1900 are now in their third generation. There have been intermarriages with Africans and much less with Creoles within most families. Today the Melano-Indians number about 6,000 and live mostly in the areas around Basse-Pointe, Macouba and Morne Rouge. Their movements of population and their relationship to other groups and their accelerated loss of identity yet remain to be studied (*Benoist*. 14).

Caste and Customs

6.1. The study of the castes to which the original migrants belonged may be surmised to some extent by tracing the original names of the migrants in the register of the colonial records, or of the shipping company, if these are available. From the actual names borne, some inferences can be made. The older members of the group mentioned in interviews that their parents had belonged to the patiaatchi, pariah, naidu castes. Two elderly informants were met who mentioned their parents as having belonged to the Kallar and Sakalathy castes. Though the names of castes cited represent non-Brahmin castes, it cannot be concluded that the migrants belonged to the socalled 'inferior' castes. The two elderly informants whose familiarity with Tamil was greatest insisted without any provocation that their parents were not 'pariahs', and

mentioned other living persons who were pariahs. There was the desire in the two elderly informants not to be classified with them. One of them showed obvious displeasure at the social conditions in Martinique which had equalised the 'pariahs' with people of other communities.

Horowitz (344) mentions 'Tulukaci' as a caste. Obviously the informant who gave the name must have had ancestors who were Muslim. To the present generation, in the Martinique, with the exception of a few elders, caste has absolutely no significance, but the wealthier and the more educated Martiniquians of Indian origin, because of whatever stigma may be attached to their Indian origins, would like to trace the places from which their ancestors came. They see the Trinidadians of Indian origin and the educated Guadaloupians of Indian origin acquiring a new status in their respective societies. Some of the Indians from India whom some of the Martiniquian Indians have met, have not created in them any pride concerning their ancestors, some informants said. A revival of consciousness of 'Indianness' was found to be much stronger in *Guadeloupe* than in Martinique. But such consciousness may begin to develop also among those Martiniquians of Indian origin who travel abroad or who have become wealthy and are socially moving upwards. The general awareness of Indian culture, where it occurs, adds a new prestige to those of Indian descent.

6.3. The Indians in Martinique are mostly agriculturists, sub-tenants in the large plantations, especially in the north of the island. Some of them like the Velauthams, Moutoucumarous fit well in Martiniquian society; in the urban areas, some of them (*e.g.* Nayaradou, Suppama) are butchers; before the second world war a number of them in the urban areas were city cleaners. The Indians have not generally taken to fishing as an occupation. The writer is not aware of the fishing castes of Southern India ever having gone as indentured or migrant labour overseas.

6.4. The preservation of Indian customs and their meaning to those that practice them in the Martinique varies with the age group. The customs must be meaning much more to the above fifty group than to the present generation educated in the public schools, completely ignorant even of the name of the language which their grand parents spoke and the name of the ethnic group to which they belonged. Among the few customs which the elders follow is the *Karumantiram* (pron. Kalumantira in the Martinique) by which on the 13th day of the death of a person, the friends and relatives meet, have a funerary feast, at which the old ritual dance

is performed and the *poosari* officiates. Albert Marimoutou (*see* Appendix) said that in the earlier days, the Tamil marriage ceremóny used to be first performed in the house with the tying of the taali, and then the bride and bridegroom would repair to the Catholic Church for the nuptial Mass.

6·5. Inter marriages with other groups vary according to the environment in which they live and the strength of their numbers. At Basse-Pointe, where the Indians remain a fourth of an approximate population of 4,000, French informants mentioned that those of Indian origin prefer to marry among themselves, and seek their partners even among the Indians in Guadeloupe. Religious pastors from Europe or the United States have always found the Indians a closed group and difficult to penetrate. There always remains a mystery about them, said one informant.

Religious Rites

7·1. The main means by which the Indians preserved their cultural traits was through language, through the celebration of their social feasts and through their religious rites. The language is no more spoken except by the very few noted in Appendix II, and remains only in invocations used during the religious ceremonies which have the general name of fête indien. The few phrases and words which are now known to a very limited number have assumed a kind of magical and hieratic significance, so that to effect cures or obtain favours through a publicly recognized officiant or *poosari*, these Tamil words are used.

7·2. The celebration of the religious feasts took place in the open, before the chapels were constructed in plantation localities with concentration of Tamils. The *Thai Pongal* (Tamil harvest festival) was an important festival for the Tamils, and it was stipulated in the *Contrat d'engagement de travail* formulated in 1858, that every year at the end of the year a four day holiday shall be given in order that the labourer might celebrate the feast of Pongal (*Bom.* p. 128, Art. 8). The new weekly, *Le Moniteur* published on 14th January 1855 (Vol. I. No. 4, 2) a complete account in one long column of the celebration in a plantation of the *Pongal* feast. It was written by a planter from Le François who must have been very sympathetic to the Tamils who had but very recently arrived in his plantation. He describes the rites as performed in a foreign country by the Tamils, the elaborate pandal erected by them in the open, the ' chief priest ' adorned with flowers, two lambs which were adorned with garlands and were offered as sacrifice, the boiling of rice and

the cries of 'pongal' followed by a ritual bathing in the sea. The description is entirely that of a foreigner who sees Indian rites for the first time. He has obviously made enquiries concerning the significance of the rites, and states that the Indians worshipped seventeen gods of whom three are important. Pongal was not celebrated in the Martinique after the second generation of migrants but a few rites and customs continue which give the Indians a certain cultural identity.

7·3. Eye witness accounts of 'messe indienne' as the ritual is also termed are referred to the published accounts on these subjects among which are the following :—

(a) Michael M. Horowitz and Morton Klass : The Martiniquan East Indian Cult of Maldevidan, in *Social and Economic Studies*.

(b) *Le Maldevilain ou sacrifice indien dans le Nord-Est de la Martinique* in *Nouville Antilles* (5 August 1966) p. 2.

(c) Guy Lasserre has described in detail the rites as performed in Guadeloupe in *La Guadeloupe* (q. v.).

'Hindu' chapelles now in the Martinique number seven. They are located in Macouba, Basse-Pointe (three of them, at Carriere, Gradis, Moulin l'étange) Ste Marie, Trinité, St. Pierre. Where the chapels erected in the last century have become too old, a new structure with basements of stone and a superstructure of tin sheets have been made.

7·4. Three of these, the one at Moulin l'Etange, Basse-Pointe and Vincent Saipu's residence are recent constructions. These chapels erected recently have been described by the writers cited above and others. It is extremely difficult to identify from the iconographic details, the deities represented by the statues. Among the gods and goddesses those commonly identified and found in all the chapels are

(a) *Maturai Veeran* (male) usually with a sword and riding a horse ; often located at the entrance of the chapel and equated with St. Michael.

(b) *Mariamman* (female), the deity who receives the greatest homage is pronounced as 'Maliemman', and equated with Dieu le pere or with the Marie Aimée.

(c) *Sita Lakshmi* (female).

(d) *Kaali*, generally identified as a goddess of evil.

The sacrificial rites said the informants could be offered for various reasons, to avert an evil, to pray for a grace, to thank for a favour, to cure an infant or when one is about to leave the country on a long journey. The goat and cock are also offerred said one informant, after the death of a person, " comme 'une messe pour un defunct ". The offerings, one informant insisted were not a sacrifice ; and no salt is offered along with the offerings.

7·5. A young Indian who had studied anthropology at the Sorbonne after completing his military service, made the usual identification of the statues which were found in the chapels. He said Maturai Veeran corresponded to St. Michael the Archangel, that Mariamman in the centre was Dieu le Pere, that the Goddess Kali was the reine du mal, and the other statues were the saints. He said statues could be set up even of people now living. " In the pagode at Basse Pointe, Pagode de Gradis, there are two statues of my uncle who was cured after offering sacrifice." This setting up of statues for the living might explain the plurality of statues for which there is no real explanation. For the statues, the Tamil word *cilai* is (often pron. ' celai ') is currently used among the Indians. One informant mentioned among invocations used during the rites, 'Mother Parvati, do forgive all the sins of your devotees'. They also mention such names as Amman, Vinayakam, Varathasamy or Śiva, and the prayer " saami vanteen saraṇam "—" God, here I am ; you are my refuge ".

7·6. Ponnen (*see* Appendix II) said that questions are asked in Tamil of the man in the trance during the rites.

Who has come upon you ?	(Yaar un meelee ?)
Who has come ?	(Yaar vantirukkiratu ?).

7·7. Outside Vincent Saipu's chapel, there were Minadian, and two guard figures. Inside the chapel, there were 17 figures in all, some of them with crosses marked on the breasts of their garments. In the chapel was displayed prominently a trisula (Śiva's trident), and on the altar two large knives or machettes.

The chapels vary among themselves in the arrangement of the statues, and even in the identification, but the gods mentioned earlier obtain an important place. In the new chapel of Moulin L'Etange, in front of the chapel, was found a stone in the shape of a lingam a foot high, and 16 statues of stone were found inside adorned with red and white shawls. In the chapel at Basse-pointe, were found three statues placed on the altar, four statues at the foot of the altar, four statues on the floor at the right, and five

statues on the left. Two statues had crosses marked on them. A light was burning.

7·8. It was in the chapel at Trinité which remains physically unchanged singe the time it was built as a single structure in the last century, that I had incontrovertible evidence in Martinique of the cult of Nagoor Mira, a Muslim saint of South India, syncretising with the Hindu ritual described by previous writers. There was in the chapel a small tomb-like structure with a flag placed beside it. Nagoor Mira whose original shrine and tomb are found in Nagapattinam, a historic sea-port town about 100 miles South of Madras, is regarded by Hindus and Muslims as a wonder worker and as a protector against tempests and shipwrecks. Even non-Muslim passengers by sea make offerings to the shrine of Nagoor Mira for a safe voyage. In this context, the cult of Nagoor Mira developed in the Martinique, and one informant, Singamalon, stated that the earth used for the miniature replica of the sepulchre of Nagoor Mira was brought from South India, and that a number of migrant ships en route to Martinique had been protected from tempests by Nagoor Mira. Another unmistakable evidence of the Muslim cult syncretising with the Hindu was the White flag in the shape of a standard. The flag was $3\frac{1}{2}'$ feet by $2'$ feet : a hand and a crescent moon of red cloth were stitched on its upper portion and a decorative floral design adorned the lower portion. Singamalon explained that the material out of which the flag was made was hard to come by now, since there was no communication by the Indians with India. A figure of Maturai Veeran was placed in front of the tomb-like structure. The flag itself was in front of two statues of Mariamman, identified as such by Singamalon.

The flags hoisted on tall trees near the house of Thangamen at Basse-Pointe, and the house of Vincent Saipu at Gradis are also connected with the cult of Nagoor Mira. At Vincent Saipu's house, the flag was of white cloth with the figure of a hand and a crescent in green cloth stitched on it. Antoine Thangamen sang to me the lines of a Tamil song in which Nagoor Mira is invoked as the protector from shipwrecks—kappal kaatta Nagoor Mira. Horowitz has described the rituals connected with the "deity Nagarumida" (343).

Trade with India

8·1. Among the survivals of Martiniquian trade with India there is the memory preserved in the popular song composed in the last century 'Adieu Madras, Adieu foulard'.

Adieu Madras
Adieu foulard
When the foulards came
I always had some
When the Madras kerchiefs came
I always had some
When the printed calicoes came
I always had some
. . . . That second officer
Is such a kind man.

8·2. The importation of cotton pieces which provided a name for the typical head-dress worn by Martiniquian women has popularised a name of the district from which the migrants came. 'Curry' is known as 'Caril' in Martiniquian creole, and spelt likewise in the menu cards of restaurants. 'Colombo' is the other preparation of thick sauce which is none else than the kuḻampu of Tamil, and is a word popularised also by its use in the post-sacrificial feast prepared with the meat of the goats which have been slain at the sacrifice. The word 'Kolbou' is also used of the yellow rice and meat; and its usage for mutton 'bruyani' of sorts, seems to be a migrant usage of a Tamil word.

> 'Les bêtes sont emportées, dépecées, découpées et cuites. Leur chair mélangée á du riz bien épicé et aromatisé compose le Kolbou qui sera distribué copieusement á tous les assistants et aux joueurs de tambours.'

8·3. Besides the imports of Madras calico and cotton, it seems probable that some flora were introduced into the Martinique. A kind of cucumber with yellow flowers is known in creole as 'mange coolie', and the mango is known in the Martinique as well as elsewhere as mange. While driving up the ascent on Font Bernier towards Schoelcher, a murunkai tree was seen in full bloom with lustrous white flowers. The *murunkai* and certain variety of mango seem to have been introduced from South India.

Relics of Folk literature

9·1. The *theatre* has been the popular means by which both linguistic and cultural values have been transmitted in Indian migrant communities. In the Martinique, the Tamil play continued until the thirties of this century to have had some influence, judged by the number and age of informants who were able to sing some verse or other from the songs sung in plays without, however, understanding the meaning.

A note contained in D.W.D. Comins, *Note on Emigration from India to British Guiana* (1893. 20) reads,

"The Madras immigrants on certain occasions, especially at weddings and christenings, have entertainment consisting of very effective theatrical performances, representing various episodes in the ancient history of India."

9·2. From the few verses collected in the Martinique, the *Rama Natakam*, the *Thesangu Raja Natakam*, *Hiranya Natakam* and *Allah Bhaishah Natakam* seem to have been popular. Informants were taken by surprise when invited to sing, and were not able to recall the words all of a sudden. A research worker with more time at his disposal might be able to take down more verses as informants exercise their memory to recall more verses. Some snatches of verses from folk literature or oral literature were obtained. Albert Marimutou recalled that in his boyhood one Arumugam used to act extremely well as Hiranya and was also a very good dancer. One Tamil book was found in Martinique, a copy of *Harischandra Natakam* carefully preserved by Ponnen (*see* Appendix II). The book he said had been brought from Trinidad. The *Rama Natakam* seems to have been quite popular among the Tamils all over the Carribean. The song

"She came to the throne ; Sita, came she to the throne,"

were sung by four informants, two in Martinique and two in Trinidad.

9·3. In these traditional plays they introduced their own verses composed from their own experiences in the plantations. For instance, a farewell song in Tamil to Sita accompanying Rama into exile ran as follows :

The cocoanut groves are grandly decorous
One side is the basket ; the other side is thoosai ;
Peahen that is driven to the forest
By the wiles of a Chandala criminal ;
The forest is dark and gloomy.
Bid Goodbye with a kiss
And come back to us, Rathi Gazelle.

Another snatch of folksong which an informant sang was quite characteristic of the songs prevalent among estate labour :

My hands are blistered, Sinna Moutamma
By cutting stumps of wood, Periya Moutamma.

APPENDIX I

SAILINGS BETWEEN INDIA AND MARTINIQUE 1853–1900

Compiled partly from data furnished by the kindness of L'Abbé David, Bellevue, Martinique

Year	Date of Arrival	Port of Disembarkation	Name of Vessel	Port of Embarkation	No. of Labourers
1853	May 6	St. Pierre	Aurelie (Fr)	Karikal	318
1854	February 27	St. Pierre	Louis-Napoleon	Karikal	508
1854	October 19	Fort-de-France	Belle Gabrielle	Pondichéry	373
1855	February 25	?	Arnaud	Karikal	381
1856	March 11	?	Indien	Pondichéry	644
	September 21	?	Madagascar	?	351
	December 9	?	Hampden	Pondichéry	551 (at departure 570)
1857	March 19	?	Rubens	Karikal	721
	September 20		Richelieu	Pondichéry	506
1858	April 16	Fort-de-France	Nicolas Poussin	Pondichéry	455
	September 27	Fort-de-France	Reaumur	Pondichéry	544
	October 23	Fort-de-France	Richelieu	Pondichéry	535
1859	January	?	Nicolas Poussin	?	464
	April	?	Paul Adrien	?	393
	June	?	Ville-d-Agen	?	611
	November	?	Siam	?	423
1860	January	?	Reaumur	?	549
	March 15	Fort-de-France	Richelieu	Pondichéry	529
1861	May 5	Fort-de-France	Jacques Coeur	?	670
	November 11	Fort-de-France	Siam	Pondichéry	439
1862	February 4	Fort-de-France	Confiance	Pondichéry and Karikal	402
1865	May 20	Fort-de-France	Mansard	Pondichéry	403
1866	April	?	Paul-Adrien	?	339
1867	January		Michael-Angelo (British)	?	468
	January 8	Fort-de-France	Adamant (British)	?	470
	March 5	Fort-de-France	Cicero	?	450
	April 4	Fort-de-France	Saxon	?	347
	April 6 or 10	Fort-de-France	Sir Robert Sale (British)	?	478 or 481

APPENDIX I—(*Contd.*)

SAILINGS BETWEEN INDIA AND MARTINIQUE 1853–1900

Compiled partly from data furnished by the kindness of L'Abbé David, Bellevue, Martinique.

Year	Date of Arrival	Port of Disembarkation	Name of Vessel	Port of Embarkation	No. of Labourers
1868	June 29	Fort-de-France	Jumna	Pondichéry	469
	December	Fort-de-France	New Era was awaited	?	?
1869	April 8	Fort-de-France	Havering	Pondichéry	456
1870	May 16	Fort-de-France	Bayswater	Pondichéry and Karikal	470
	December 25	Fort-de-France	Undaunted	Pondichéry	467
1871	May 28	Fort-de-France	Oriental	Pondichéry	463
1872	June 10	Fort-de-France	Cornwalis (British)	Pondichéry and Karikal	436
	December 6	Fort-de-France	Marie Laure (French)		346
1874	February 20	Fort-de-France	Sea-Queen	Pondichéry and Karikal	521
	June 21	Fort-de-France	British Navy	Calcutta	402
	December 26	Fort-de-France	Villes-de-nimes	Pondichéry	458
1875	February 26	Fort-de-France	Lamentin French	Pondichéry and Karikal	416
	April 14	Fort-de-France	St. Jean-Baptiste	Pondichéry	351
1876	February 2	Fort-de-France	Canadienne (French)	Pondichéry	467
	March 11	Fort-de-France	Winefred (Por.)	Calcutta	524
1877	November 5	Fort-de-France	Dupuy-de-Lome (French)	Pondichéry	381
1878	May 29	Fort-de-France	Ben Navis (British)	Pondichéry	450
	November 2	Fort-de-France	Oncle Felix (French)	Pondichéry and Karikal	450
1879	November 14	Fort-de-France	Oncle Felix (French)	Pondichéry and Karikal	449
	December 10	Fort-de-France	Tyburnia (British)	Pondichéry	460
1880	May 26	Fort-de-France	Ilione (British)	Karikal	452
	December 25	Fort-de-France	White Adder	Pondichéry	441
1881	April 18	Fort-de-France	Vimeira	Pondichéry	454
1882	?	?	Two ships?	?	922
1883	March 14	Fort-de-France	Neva	Pondichéry	460
	December 22	Fort-de-France	Ce[illegible]		465

1883–1901 No arrival of Indians

45047

When large numbers were repatriated, names of vessels in which they were repatriated are available.

REPATRIATION

Year	Date	Ship	Destination	Number of Repatriates
1859 ..	..	Junon	?	69
1860 ..	..	Reaumur	?	70
1861 ..	..	Parmentier	?	245
1868 ..	..	Jumna	?	503
1881 ..	November 18	Ville de St-Nazaire (probable)	Pondichéry	281
1885 ..	November 19	Ville de St-Nazaire (probable)	Pondichéry	818
1886 ..	May 9	Herefort (probable)	Pondichéry	1791
	November 28	Avoca (probable)	Pondichéry	..
1889 ..	September 7	Nantes—Bordeaux (probable)	..	879

In 1885, 1886, 1889, the ships mentioned must have repatriated only a half or third of the total repatriated. Information concerning the other vessels which were used are not available as yet.

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEWS

Since the number of days I was able to spend in the Martinique was limited, I was anxious to interview as many persons of Indian origin as possible in order to obtain information concerning their past, and the linguistic and cultural aspects of their life. Whenever possible, I also interviewed Martiniquians of non-Indian origin and Frenchmen from Metropolitan France. Apart from the interviews recorded below, there were several other persons with whom in the restaurants, the shops or even in the streets, I carried on conversation so as to obtain information concerning the Indians. I met several ethnic types of Tamil origin, who, except for their name, knew no other Tamil word.

One encounters several physical types of Indian origin in the Martinique, their differences depending on the extent of ethnic miscegenation. But one meets also with several 'pure types' who could pass off as authentic South Indians. In certain families, the parents have not inter-married outside of the group, but as for their children, one can hardly find a family in which at present some son or daughter has not intermarried with a Creole or African or chappé coolie. Neither was the vast majority aware that their names belonged to a language group named Tamil.

At times, I was suspected by my informants, particularly when I took down notes during conversation. On four or five occasions I was asked whether all this information was being gathered in order to repatriate those of Indian origin to their original homeland since a cry had been raised that Guadeloupe and Martinique should be residence only of the settlers from Africa. The following interviews report the substance of conversations I had with those who were able to report some kind of acquaintance or other with the Tamil language.

ALBERT MARIMOUTOU (Male. Age 84) living in Gardis at Morne Rouge was the most important Indian from my point of view interviewed in the Martinique. He spoke Tamil

as well as any native in India and all my conversation with him was in Tamil. He knew portions of Tamil songs by heart and sang and even made popular dance movements as he sang to the tune of the "Kummi" and the "temmaangu".* He said his father was born in India but had migrated to the Martinique, but that he himself (Albert) was born in the Martinique. The year of his birth would then be about 1883. He said his father was alive during the great tempest, by which he referred to the Great cyclone of 18 August 1891 during which about 378 persons died and ships were blown adrift and bodies of sailors were found floating in the harbour of Saint Pierre. (*Le Moniteur de la Martinique* of 25 August 1868, in its list of victims of the cyclone says that at François 28 died, among them one Mardaye, Indian.) On the first day I met Albert, he was sad and despondent since he had lost his wife four days earlier. While we (Father Sorgand and Michel, the taxi man) were there, a few friends dropped into condole with him.

Albert said he himself had been taught Tamil when young by teachers who had studied Tamil quite well, and who used to teach the children of the migrants. He had taken part in plays like '*Rama Natakam*' and '*Hiranya Natakam*'. These were popular plays at the beginning of this century, and wherever Tamil migrants went they staged these plays. One Nallamuttu he said, had been extremely competent in Tamil.

When I asked him to sing for purposes of recording, he said he was too sad to sing, and sang an impromptu elegy in Tamil on his wife, a very popular form of group elegy known in Tamil as *Oppaari*. Albert Marimuttu on the first and subsequent two visits showed himself to have a good sense of humour, remarkable for his age. On the second and third visit I was able to record a few lines of songs he knew. He kept telling me that he had forgotten nearly all the songs he knew by heart. From him, I learnt the names of other persons in the island who could speak Tamil, and the nature of the social ceremonies and ritual still conserved among the Indians. 12 children were born to him of whom only five have survived. He now lives with his grand-children. *He referred to Creole as the coolie language and said what was known as 'Vaikasi in Tamil is 'mai' in the coolie language'.*

LUCIEN VELAYE (Male. Age 78, Moulin l' Etange) was born in Martinique but both his parents were from Pondicherry in French India. He spoke Tamil with a very strong accent and was far from being fluent in the language since he had had no practice. He spoke of his parents and their contemporaries, that they used to meet frequently to sing and dance. On being asked concerning the festivals they used to clelebrate, he said there was 'un prêtre coolie', one François Le May who performed the ritual, but Velaye himself used to beat the *mattalam* or two sided drum. Velaye repeated invocations in Tamil used in the worship of the goddess Maariamman.

LOUISE MAGATHA (F.) was said to be 96 years old. She was hardly able to sit up but with the aid of her daughter, she attempted to answer a few questions though very hard of hearing. Her Tamil was very scant, and no information of any interest was obtained from her.

FERNAND PONNEN (M. Age 60). His father, he said, was Albert Ponnen, and mother Pauline Karupin. His parents were both born in the Martinique, and they had known very little of their own language. Ponnen knew by heart a few verses from the plays he had seen, especially the *Rama Natakam*. He showed me an old printed copy of the Tamil *Harischandra Natakam* which, he said, had been brought from Trinidad, and was quite pleased to hear me read it aloud.

The most interesting person in his household was the son, *Henri Ponnen* (34 years old) who is not married and remains so in order that he might officiate at the ritual of the Indians known as the *fête indien*. Henri said that he was celibate like a catholic priest and abstained altogether from the eating of beef. At first he had assisted whoever functioned as priest in the ritual, but later became the officiating priest himself. Before the sacrifice of the goats or the "messe" takes place, Henri said he abstains from meat for twenty days. He brought from an adjoining room the two sword like long knives on which he dances in a trance, and a five foot *triśula* (Siva's trident) which is held by one of his assistants during the ceremony. Albert said he knew invocations in the langue indien† (*i.e.* Tamil) but when in a trance he "spoke the language very well." He asked me if I knew Varandha Swami, Mardha, Mariamman. Both father and son seemed very anxious to obtain information from me concerning the religious significance of the ritual they were performing, and authentic information about the prayers they *should* recite. They also said that Gill Parvati was not a real *poosari*, but officiated

* Popular South Indian dances.

† In Trinidad the phrase 'he speaks Indian' refers to Hindi; in Martinique to Tamil.

sometimes. Henri had an air of secrecy about him and once even said ' The Indians, of course, have a great many secrets which cannot be communicated '. Henri presented me with a few photographs in which he features as officiant at the fête indien.

ANTOINE THANGAMEN (M. Age 65) is probably the Indian that most anthropologists and sociologists interview in Martinique concerning Indian ritual and customs. On a tree in front of his house, a long bamboo was tied on which a white flag was flying. Antoine Thangamen is a leader among the Indians at Basse Pointe and is well known among the Indians in Martinique. He knows a number of songs, some of them from the *Rama Natakam* and the *Raja Thesangu Natakam* and said that at one time in his early days, Tamil dances such as the *Kummi* and *Kolattam* were quite popular. I interviewed him and recorded his speech on three separate occasions. He sings with a very clear loud voice. On being insistently asked to sing folksongs concerning the life of the Indians in the plantations, he sang three or four verses. As he made the effort he seemed to remember more and more. He took me to visit the ' chapelle ' which is in Basse Point, and identified some of the statues in the chapelle. Thangamen and his associates feature in the film on the fête indien prepared by Professor Jean Benoist of the University of Montreal. His parents were presumably Telugu, and his Tamil is very Teluguised.

VINCENT SAIPU was referred to as ' prêtre coolie '. Tall, slim and sturdy, Vincent Saipu is looked upon with awe by a part of the population. Antoine Thangamen said he had been responsible for making Saipu a *poosari* (often pronounced poosali in the Martinique). I met him in front of his own house by the side of which he has erected a small chapel. He was taking in two visitors from Jamaica to perform a religious ceremony as I accosted him. I found a typical flag in three colours, with a crescent and seven stars stitched on them, hoisted in front of his house, fluttering in the breeze. Vincent Saipu who does not speak Tamil, except for reciting certain invocations which he has memorised in Roman script, said he was not a ' tulukan ' (muslim) but that the flag was hoisted in honour of Nagoor Mira. Vincent Saipu was generally reticent about the ceremonies he performed and was rather shy of discussing them with a visitor from India who might know better about them. I was told that he is regarded as a Mahatma Gandhi among the Indians in Martinique. This was not due to any political or social programme of his, but because he represented a tradition of Indian Culture, and the best known or only Indian name familiar to most Martiniquians by which he could be named was that of Mahatma Gandhi.

In Vincent Saipu's chapelle was evident the syncretism of Muslim, Hindu and catholic beliefs in the folkloristic rites of Martinique.

SANGAMALON (Male. Age 70) of Habitation Usine Galion at Trinité was a most interesting character. He said his full name was Sangamalon Govindasamy, and his own earliest first name he remembers is Palani. He said he was baptized a Catholic about sixty years ago. He spoke Tamil haltingly trying to remember words, but towards the end of our conversation he was conversing in whole sentences with ease. He seemed still to retain a loyalty to the old cults and he said that he would never forget Mariamman. He took me to see the oldest chapel constructed by the Indians in Trinité, and explained to me some of the circumstances in which these cults had developed. He said that Mardaye once appeared to him in a dream and stated that a certain man died suddenly because he had danced a Hindu religious dance at the Carnival. With emotion he said, ' I was very ill once. A man brought a Tamil book and read it to me and I was cured '. He was one of the informants who happened to mention his own caste and the caste of some others. He said he himself belonged to the Kallar caste and mentioned two other families who belonged to the pariah caste. Sangamalon kept insisting that *he* never ate beef.

LUCIEN NAYARADOU is a well-known businessman of Fort-de-France in whose company I visited a certain number of families of Indian origin. He himself told me that his mother was a ' Calcutta ' and that his father had told him that their language was ' Telunku '. He knew absolutely no Tamil but recalled words from the cuisine which he remembered *e.g.* Mullagatanni, Uppukandam (salted beef), Urkā (pickled fruit), Kolombo (curry), masālā. I was Lucien's guest on more than one occasion, and he was very helpful in introducing me to Tamil-speakers and to aspects of Martiniquian life.

SUBHARAYAN (Male. Age c. 45) knew no Tamil but still sang two stanzas of songs from plays which he had learnt in his boyhood. He was tall of stature ; I had a suspicion that he might be of Brahmin descent.

I also met three Tamils from South India who were employed in the Martinique. Two were teachers seconded for service from Pondicherry. They had witnessed the fête indien and had a few interesting comments to make about them.

APPENDIX III

BOM : 1900

Immigration and Repatriation of Indians from 1853 to December 31st, 1899.

Year	Population on January 1	Introduced during the year	Births	Total	Deceased	Repatriation	Total	Remaining on 31 December
1853 et 1854 ..	..	1,282	7	1,289	41	..	41	1,248
1855 ..	1,248	381	30	1,659	94	1	95	1,564
1856 ..	1,564	1,546	35	3,145	142	..	142	3,003
1857 ..	3,003	1,227	68	4,298	252	..	252	4,046
1858 ..	4,046	1,534	63	5,643	334	18	352	5,291
1859 ..	5,291	1,891	68	7,250	422	68	490	6,760
1860 ..	6,760	1,078	130	7,968	482	70	552	7,416
1861 ..	7,416	1,109	151	8,676	385	245	630	8,046
1862 ..	8,046	402	132	8,580	475	..	475	8,105
1863 ..	8,105	..	153	8,258	372	198	570	7,688
1864 ..	7,688	..	131	7,819	276	276	552	7,267
1865 ..	7,267	403	147	7,817	245	431	676	7,141
1866 ..	7,141	338	100	7,579	255	..	255	7,324
1867 ..	7,324	2,220	121	9,665	298	286	584	9,081
1868 ..	9,081	937	122	10,140	303	503	806	9,334
1869 ..	9,334	456	127	9,917	315	..	315	9,602
1870 ..	9,602	937	146	10,685	393	..	393	10,292
1871 ..	10,292	463	123	10,878	455	25	480	10,398
1872 ..	10,398	788	144	11,330	477	272	749	10,581
1873 ..	10,581	..	128	10,709	363	283	646	10,063
1874 ..	10,063	1,407	129	11,599	302	162	464	11,135
1875 ..	11,135	766	113	12,014	410	368	778	11,236
1876 ..	11,236	953	161	12,350	537	..	537	11,813
1877 ..	11,813	379	172	12,364	487	..	487	11,877
1878 ..	11,877	912	171	12,960	416	..	416	12,544

APPENDIX III—(*Contd.*)

BOM : 1900

Immigration and Repatriation of Indians from 1853 to December 31st, 1899.

Year	Population on January	Introduced during the year	Births	Total	Deceased	Rapatriation	Total	Remaining on 31 December
1879 ..	12,514	908	146	13,598	457	502	959	12,639
1880 ..	12,639	893	187	13,719	530	..	530	13,189
1881 ..	13,189	452	192	13,833	664	..	664	13,189
1882 ..	13,169	922	208	14,299	636	552	1,188	13,111
1883 ..	13,111	925	216	14,252	599	..	599	13,653
1884 ..	13,653	..	177	13,830	623	281	904	12,926
1885 ..	12,926	..	183	13,109	382	818	1,200	11,909
1886 ..	11,909	..	204	12,113	267	1,791	2,058	10,055
1887 ..	10,055	..	150	10,205	239	..	239	9,966
1888 ..	9,966	..	107	10,073	295	..	295	9,778
1889 ..	9,778	..	120	9,898	307	879	1,186	8,712
1890 ..	8,712	..	100	8,812	381	..	381	8,431
1891 ..	8,431	..	107	8,538	294	569	863	7,675
1892 ..	7,675	..	84	7,759	238	..	238	7,521
1893 ..	7,521	..	103	7,624	187	227	414	7,210
1894 ..	7,210	..	70	7,280	179	2,024	2,203	5,077
1895 ..	5,077	..	70	5,147	126	228	354	4,796
1896 ..	4,793	..	84	4,877	101	..	101	4,776
1897 ..	4,776	..	64	4,840	121	..	121	4,719
1898 ..	4,719	..	55	4,774	101	..	101	4,673
1899 ..	4,673	..	69	4,742	77	..	77	4,665
		25,509	5.568	31,011	15,335	11,077	26,412	4,665

APPENDIX IV

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

(The following are some names as found in records between 1853 and 1883. List obtained by kindness of L'Abbé David, Bellevue, Martinique.)

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
Abalc-Cader	Amad-Saib	Maléalou
Abdulazea	Mortasaib	
Abraham	Antony	Pondichéry
Adoubin	Méninpoulay	
Agamoutou	Rayenakin	
Ajaguery	Poulandy	
Ajaguin		Madras
Allamel (fille)	Virassamy	Poullé-Satiron
Alloumellou (fille)	Kamassamy	Therango
Alon	Rangaron	
Amamoutou		Pondichéry
Ameapin	Chonoudou	
Ameyin		Madras
Amon	Mesly	
Amyd-Khan	Pyr-Khan	Kharmoul
Anama (fille)		Madras
Anamale	Carnamaly	
Andony Coulla		Madras
Andy	Naguin	
Aneyen	Amavatchy	Cavéripacon
Angama (fille)	Ramassamy	
Angapin		Madras
Annamalay		Madras
Annamale	Tapay	Madras
Annoumoudou	Latchoumanin	Madras
Anoumandin		Pondichéry
Antony	Saverimoutou	
Antony	Aroquiom	
Apaya		Madras
Apana		Pondichéry
Appavot	Vingadassalom	
Appaya	Décevon	Madras
Arimal		Madras
Armongon		Madras
Armongon	Tandrayen	Vélour
Armongon	Candessamy	Pondichéry
Armougane	Maleyni	
Armougon	Ramin	
Armougon		Madras
Armougon	Vingadassamy	

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
Armougon	Vingadassamy	
Armougon	Vingadassalom	
Arnassalom		Madras
Arnassalom	Tandrayen-Padéatchy	
Arnassalom	Moutoucarpin	Madras
Arnassalom	Loopoomodély	
Aroquion	David	
Aroquion		Pondichéry
Aroquion	Savery	
Aroquiom	David	Madras
Arronmongon	Moutou Virin	Madras
Arounassalom	Paquion	
Atchaya	Sakeya	
Athor		Madras
Ayacanon	Mouniapin	
Ayagapin	Randassamy	
Ayalou		Pondichéry
Ayalou	Vingadésin	
Ayapin	Navayanin	
Batchamian		Madras
Battiamond		Pondichéry
Bavanedine		Calcutta
Bavanidine	Dodasing	Calcutta
Beassamy	Papin	Madras
Beassamy		Madras
Beassamy		Madras
Beassamy		Madras
Beriamsamy		Madras
Bira Data Biregora		Karikal
Bouchin-Saib	Oumara-Saib	
Cader	Crassimsa	Madras
Cader		Pondichéry
Cadersaib		Calcutta
Cadersaib		Madras
Cadersaib	Cassami-Saib	Pondichéry
Cadersail		Madras
Cadreayen	Nirianin	
Cairodine		Pondichéry
Cajande	Virassin	
Calimoutou	Armongon	Nagour
Callimoutou	Armougon	
Callven	Périam	
Cally		Pondichéry

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
CALY	Saman	
CANABADY	Arnassalom	
CANAGASABAPADEY		Pondichéry
CANAGASSABY	Souprayen	
CANDASSAMY		Madras
CANDASSAMY	Savabaddy	
CANDASSAMY	Coullapen & Pounamar	
CANDESAMY		Madras
CANNAGASSABY	Souprayen	
CANNAYEN	Ramassamy	
CANNON	Moutoupalcatchy	
CANOUNAIKIN MESTRY		Tirouado
CANNOUSAMY		Madras
CARIVENDEN	Patin	
CAROOPANIN	Pamandy	
CAROUPANIN	Simamedely	
CAROUPANIN		Madras
CAROUPIN	Vayabourg	
CAROUPIN	Moutoussamy	
CAROUPIN		Madras
CAROUPIN		Karikal
CAROUPIN	Palaycavoundin	
CARPIN		Madras
CARPIN	Ajagniry	
CASSINE SAIB	Checkoussin	
CATTAN	Rmain & Letchimy	Karikal
CATTAN	Virin	
CANDE	Coulinga	Pondichéry
Georges CAZADIER		Calcutta
CHAPANY	Vaity	Pondichéry
CAROUMBAYE		Madras
CHARRIEU-MOULLON VIRAN		Madras
CHECK ABDOULA	Ranousaib	
CHECK-BRAIM		Madras
CHECKLIPE	Chec Vussin	
CHECK-OUSSIN	Check-Sultane	Ajdrapacame
CHEIK-HOUSSIN		Madras
CHELLIN	Vellin	Madras
CHELLIN	Armougou	
CHELLIN	Naguin	
CHELLIN PEROUMAL	Ramassamy Poullet	Madras
CHENGAM	Terumalegada	Madras
CHERIBY (fille)	Abdoula	

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
CHINAPAYEN	Malavou	
CHINNIEN	Annamalay	
CHRISCHENIN	Sangalgady	
CINEA		Pondichéry
COJANDEVELON	Ramassamy	Madras
CAJANDEVELOU		Madras
COMARASSAMY		Madras
COMARESSAMY		Karikal
COMORASSAMY		Ceylan
COMORASSAMY	Viressamy	Singalépété
COOPOOSAMY	Payayanaiker	
COREYIN	Incane	
COULOUMANE		Pondichéry
COULOUME		Madras
COUPASSAMY	Sivacamaccassy	
COUPIN	Mourouvin	
COUPOUCHELLY	Augachetty	
COUPOUMOUTOU	Moutien	Madras
COUPOUSSAMY		Kangiparon, prés Madras
COUPOUSSAMY		Pondichéry
COUROUSSAMY		Karikal
COYANDE	Mariaye	
CROIDEM		Pondichéry
DAIVIN	Nanjapin	
DARNADIN		Madras
DARSOODOO	Autugadoo	
DAVID		Pondichéry
DEVAYANAGOM	Moutien	
DIMADOU TIMMAYA THIMA		Pondichéry
DOORGAJEE	Letcharom	
DOURONVIN		Madras
EGALOM	Armoupoulle	
ELLAM	Soubrayen	
ELLEPEN		Madras
EMANSAH	Mahomedsat	
ENGUETIN	Nigué Gaolon	Maissoul
ENGUETIN		Madras
ETOURASON	Souprayen	Madras
FAOUCALE	Sek-Ba-Lé	
FOUNIN-ROUGE	Mounien	
FRANCOIS		Pondichéry
GANGARAM	Appassy	
GOULOUSSAMY	Narayanin	Madras

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
GOUROUSSAMY	Patchémoutou	
GOVENDEM	Tiriviagalom	Madras
GOVENDEN	Ventassalom	Madras
GOVINDIN	Tirougauvalon	
GOVINDIN	Bimiraye	
GOVINDIN	Marimoutou	
GRAND-MARRY	Camien	
GUINGAZI		Bombay
GUINGAZI MESTRY	Ellapa	Bombay
HABOUBAKER		Madré, prés Madras, *i.e.*, Madurai.
HARAYANIN	Carpini	Madras
HARRIS		Madras
HOUMOUROUBECK		Calcutta
IBRAHIM SAIB	Madrassam	
IBRAHIM SAIB	Abdel-Kader	Madras
IBRAHIM SAIL	Ramassamy	
IGAMAYA	GOORAPPA	
IRASSAMY	Quinchenin	Madras
IROUSSAPIN		Pondichéry
IROUSSIN		Pondichéry
IRSIN	Chellan	
JOSEPH		Madras
KAMAKI	Bassin	arrondissement de Madras
KARUMSAH	ISOORRAH	
KATAN		Karikal
KAYAPIN	Antoni-Moutou	Madras
KESSEQUEN		Madras
KESSEQUEN	Ramin	Madras
KICHENIN	Ramassamy	Madras
KINAN (fille)	Soupramanien	
KRISTNAN	Venepothran	
LANGAYA	Moutiala	Avounapouram
LANGUEYA		Madras
LATCHAUMANIN	Moutien	
LATCHIMY		Madras
LATCHIMY (fille)	Vinkatassalom	
LATCHOMANIN		Madras
LATCHONMAIN		Madras
LATCHOUCADE	Latchoucade	
LATCHOUMAKA		Madras
LATCHOUMANA	Passouramin	
LATCHOUMANIN	Vélapanaiky	

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
LATCHOUMAYA CANGA LE RAMA		Madras
LATCHOUMANAYA		Madras
LATCHOUMANIN	Dioumoubardin	
LAZAR	Antony	Pondichéry
LETCHOUMY (fille)	Virin	
LINGIAH	Kindiah	
LUCKMANN		Madras
MADALIMOUTOU	Rayapin	
MADAR, dit MOURAD		Calcutta
MADASSAMY	Pajanadin	
MADOURIN	Virapin	
MAGABREANT ou OUTTANDIN		Madras
MAGAUD		Calcutta
MAGAYADIMSAIB	Moidinesaib	
MAHOMEDSIN	Dinamadou	
MAMOUDISSAUP		Madras
MANCAYA INCAYA, di MOUKA		
MANDROUVEN		Madras
MANGAEN		Karikal
MANGNIN		Karikal
MANJAINE		Madras
MARCEMOTO	Karoupin	
MARDE ou MADOURE		Madras
MARIAN		Madras
MARIANNE		Madras
MARIAPIN		Madras
MARIASSOUSSE		Madras
MARIE (fille)		Calcutta
MARIMOUTOU		Madras
MARIMOUTOU		Madras
MARIMOUTOU	Sornain	
MARIMOUTOU	Sale	
MARIMOUTOU	Coulapin	Madras
MARIMOUTOU	Capourmodely	
MAROUDEMOUTOU	Cellamoutou	Odéar-Paléon
MAROUDIN		Madras
MASTAN	Cadersaib	Tandjaom
MATIN	Matama	Madras
MARDEVIRIN	Calandalin	Manadoveram
MARIAN	Rayapin	
MAUGASSIN		Madras
MAUNIEN	Saurain	Madras
MAYANDI	Sattacouty	

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
Mequel	Francisque	
Mellapin	Marimoutou	
Minatchie		Madras
Menehendy	Caliépin	
Mikel	Aréquiom	
Millemegon	Séramadien	
Mineapin Mestry	Sidambarom	
Miniandy	Kaléapin	Madras
Minkel		Madras
Mira		Madras
Mirasab	Charasab	
Mirassamy		Madras
Mongassin		Madras
Montauzanny		Madras
Montouçarpin	Annavery	Karikal
Montoussamy		Madras
Moonegadoo	Naraida	
Moonissamy	Soobarrayen	
Moorogan	Nazapin	
Moorgasin	Ramanaik	
Mooroogassin	Heleni	
Moothooreddy	Annamabredy	
Moothoosamy	Ramassamy	
Moorazau	Nazappin	
Moudinsaib	Rachamian	
Mouniandy	Tamioly	
Mounien, dit Mouniepin		Madras
Mounien	Nainapin	Madras
Mounien		Pondichéry
Mounien		Pondichéry
Mounien	Patchemoutou	
Mouniepin		Madras
Mouniepin	Tandrayen	
Mounisamy	Cariapin	
Mounoussamy		Pondichéry
Mounoussamy		Madras
Mounoussamy	Govenden	Sinapoléon
Mounoussamy	Rellisamy	
Mounoussamy	Vingalassamy	Pondichéry
Mounoussamy	Rédissamy	Madras
Mounoussamy	Miny	
Mounoussamy	Copina	
Mourongassin		Madras

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
MOURONIN		Madras
MOUROUGAYM	Apapadehachi	Madras
MOUSSALAYA		Génarum
MOUSSOULOU AYA	Coutou	Madras
MOUTALOU		Madras
MOUTAMALLE		Madras
MOUTHOU-CARPIN		Madras
MOUTIEN		Madras
MOUTIEN	Virin	
MOUTIEN		Calcutta
MOUTIN		Madras
MOUTIN	Vendamale	Karikal
MOUTOU		Tomjah-Ourou, prés Madras (Tanjore)
MOUTOU		Madras
MOUTOU		Karikal
MOUTOU	Tambounaikim	
MOUTOU	Tandrayen	
MOUTOUCAN		Madras
MOUTOUCAN		Madras
MOUTOUCAN	Sinala	
MOUTOUCARPIN		Madras
MOUTOUCARPIN	Soupramanien	
MOUTOUCARPIN	Sinam	
MOUTOUSSAMY	Naraynin	
MOUTOUSSAMY	Ramassamy	
MOUTOUSSAMY	Vaiti Padéatchy	
MOUTOUSSAMY	Moutoupadéateley	
MOUTOUSSAMY	Narayanin	
MOUTOUVIRON	Vingadabady	
MOUTTON		Madras
MOUTTOU	Vayaboury	
MOUTTOU	Sélembin	Madras
MUNIGAN	Thumadoo	
MUNISSAMY	Kaninan	
MUNISSAMY	Muniappen	
NADAMONNY		Madras
NADAMONNY		Madras
NADI (fille)	Moutoucarpin	
NAGUIN	Catin	
NAIMAN	Caroupin	
NAINAU		prés Karikal
NALARAZA		Madras

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
NALARAZA		Edrabat—Hyderabad
NANGUIN		Pondichéry
NARAIAMIN		Madras
NARAIASSAMY, dit Viapada		Madras
NARASIMBOU	Pakercappahs	Madras
NARAYA	Counian	Madras
NARASSAMY		Vélour, Madras State
NARAYANIN	Ramapadéatchy	
NARAYANIN	Pajany	
NARAYASSAMI	Mallavanaidou	
NARAYASSAMI	Moothoossamynaik	
NARRAINEN	Ramanah	
NARSAMOULOU	Koudrassen	
NARSOUS	Icaya	Pondichéry
NELLA PERMAL	Agayapin	
NELLAPIN		Madras
NILAMEGON		Madouré
NOUSSOUION AYA, dit Moncelay		Madras
NOUSSOULOU AYA, dit Moncelay	Coutoumen	Madras
OSSENCAMPS	Monserran	
PACHAPIN	Ramassamy	Madras
PAJAMANDY	Camacarondin	
PAJANY		Madras
PAJANY		Madras
PALAYA (fille)	Virapin	Karikal
PALAYE (fille)	Panintévin	
PALEATON	Vellegen	
PANIANDY	Rasacoudé	
PAPA-ANNA		Madras
PAPAYA		Madras
PAPAYA	Chinchon	
PAPOU		Madras
PAROLO	Aarmongom	
PARTEYEN	Moulton	
PARTHASARALLY	Ryassamy	
PAVADE		Pondichéry
PAVADE	Moutien	Karikal
PAVADE	Confronmélé	
PAYANANDY		Madras
PAYE		Karikal
PERIAN	Naguin	Pondichéry
PERIANIN	Vaiabourg	
PERIATAMBY	Virassamy	

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
PERICARPIN		Pondichéry
PERIEMIN	Virapin	
PERIGOR		Madras
PEROUMAL	Ramassamy	
PEROUMAL	Vingadassamy	
PEROUMAL	Pimarédy	
PEROUMALE		Madras
PEROUMALE		Madras
PETIT RAMASSAMY	Armougon	
PETIT SAMY		Madras
PETIT SAMY	Arnolom	
PONIGNIANDY		Madras
PILATRIAN		Pondichéry
PITCHMAN	Noudy	
POINABALOM		Madras
POININ LE ROUGE		Madras
PONAMBALOM	Viracavenden	Karikal
PONNIN	SELLIN	
PONOMBALON		Pondichéry
PONOOSSAMY	Milliapanaiken	
POUGAVANON	Souprayen	
POUMAN		Madras
POUMAN	Papoman	
POUNEPANE		Madras
POUNIN	Sellin	Madras
POUNNABALOM	Sévacoyouindé	
POONOOPEROUMAL	Souprayen	Madras
PRAJANA		Madras
PRANGAMPA		Madras
RAGAPIN	Tarmalingam	
RAINAN, ou SCHECK-RAINAN	Check-Céliman	Calcutta
RAJANA	Yaneapa	Karikal
RAMALINGOM	Ramassamy	Madras
RAMANAMY		Madras
RAMASSAMY PANIDIAN		Madras
RAMASSAMY		Madras
RAMASSAMY		Madras
RAMASSAMY		Madras
RAMASSAMY		Pondichéry
RAMASSAMY	Cantiapin	Pondichéry
RAMASSAMY	Contisamy	
RAMASSAMY	Carpin	
RAMASSAMY, dit Machau		Madouré

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
RAMASSAMY	Moutouvaikin	Trichinapalis
RAMASSAMY		Madras
RAMASSAMY	Rangapin	
RAMASSAMY		Madras
RAMASSAMY		Madras
RAMASSAMY	Vingadassamy	
RAMASSAMY	Rangassamy	
RAMASSAMY	Caugiapadéatchy	
RAMASSAMY	Ramin	
RAMASSAMY	Périanin	
RAMASSAMY	Coutiépin	
RAMASSAMY	Nausoumoutou	
RAMASSAMY	Nincaia	
RAMASSAMY	Apavouchetty	
RAMASSAMY	Palavassamy	
RAMASSAMY	Ingataritz	
RAMASSAMY	Monthin	
RAMASSAMY	Palavasson	Madras
RAMASSAMY	Souprayen	Madras
RAMASSAMY	Cornapin	
RAMASSAMY	Couroussamy	Madras
RAMASSAMY	Tirassamy	
RAMASSAMY	Moutassamy	
RAMASSAMY	Canabady	
RAMASSAMY-MESTY	Yagapin	
RAMASSAMY QUATRE	Virin	
RAMASY	Vingadassalom	Cagivérou
RAMAYA	Lirigaya	
RAMAYEN	Magouhon	
RAMEN	Tassy	Karikal
RAMIN	Parama Gouron	Madras
RAMIN	Sérenaiken	Madras
RAMIN		Madras
RAMIN	Cavenden	
RAMIN	Paléatan	
RAMIN	Soupin	
RAMIN	Tymrayen	
RAMIN	Vaidymadezy	
RAMOUCHETTY	Moutienchetty	
RAMOUDOU	Naraiamin	
RAMOUDOU	Ramon	
RAMOUDOU	Apayamada	
RAMSING	Rimasing	Pondichéry

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
RANGASSAMY	Govindin	
RANGASSAMY	Coindin	Madras
RANGASSAMY	Sinatamby	
RANGASSAMY	Gourouvan	
RANGAVAN	Dirapamy	
RANGUIN		Madras
RANGUIN		Madras
RANGUIN	Vingadassalom	
RASSAMY	Moutounaikia	
RATINASSAMY		Parour
RAUMCHAUM		Calcutta
RIASSAMY		Madras
RICHENIN	Ramassamy	
SABABADY	Ammepadéatchy	
SABABADY	Valamalé	
SABABADY	Patchy	
SAIDEHEU	Vairin	Karikal
SAMAN	Sellin	
SAMANDY	Montou	
SAMENANGON		Couanon, prés Madras
SAMINADIN	Virapin	
SAMINADIN		Madras
SAMOUGEN	Anamodély	
SAMY		Madras
SAMY, dit PETIT SAMY		Madras
SAMY, dit PETIT SAMY		Madras
SANDIGEN	Christien	Madras
SANGALINGAM	Irlapin	Madras
SANGALINGAM		Madras
SANGAPOULAY	Donnavéry	Madras
SANGARAM		Karikal
SANGIRY	Moutien	
SANGUELINGON	Poussary	
SANNY	Tarnaya	
SAVARIMOUTOU		Madras
SAVERIMOUTOU	Moutoucarpin	
SCHAIKSANGUIN	Schaikaman	
SCHECK-ABDOULA		Calcutta
SCHECK BRAIM	Oumaressa	Madras
SCHECK BRAIM		Madras
SCHECK-HOMMAR	Babin Saile	
SCHECKOUSSIN, dit Mouronvin		Vélor
SCHEIKMOIDINE	Scheikali	Madras

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
SOHELLAPANAIKEN		Madras
SCHERCOUSSEN		Madras
SCHERKOUSSEN		Madras
SCHERKOUSSIN		Madras
SCHER ROUSSIN		Ranty
SEGOUTY		Pondichéry
SELLIN	Coutin	
SELLIN	Moutou	
SOUTHAMANY	Seugam	
SEVALINGACHETTY	Amamafaychetty	
SHADAYA	Koupani	
SICANICANDOU		Mayssoul
SIEDGOOLAMALLY	Syedgoolambassin	Calcutta
SIMINADIN		Madras
SINATAMBY		Madras
SINAVASSIN	Ramalingen	
SINERASSIN		Karikal
SINEYA	Obaya	
SINGALINGAM		Madras
SINGALINGAM		Madras
SINISSAMY	Narchingion	
SINIVASSAMESTRY		Madras
SINNAPAYEN	Ironain	
SINNEZ SAMY		Pondichéry
SIQUINICAMBOU		Mayssour
SOBENNACK	Bussapack	
SODELEANDY	Maroudin	
SOOMOSADARUM		Madras
SOUBANA MESTRY		Carrepay
SOUPANAKIN		Madras
SOUPANAKIN		Madras
SOUPADOU	Moutadou	
SOUPARAEN	Maché	
SOUPARETTY	Apparourety	
SOUPIN	Fariany	
SOUPIN	Ramassamy	
SOUPIN	Palamavoutin	
SOUPIN	Iroulin	
SOUPIN	Chinama	
SOUPRAMANIEN	Soupramanien & Kinan	
SOUPRAMANIN	Marayana	
SOUPRAYEN	Cayclapson	
SOUPRAYEN	Caylassin	

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
SOUPRAYEN	Vingadassalom	
SOUPRAYEN	Vagabourg	Pondichéry
SOUPRAYEN	Vélayen	
TAMIAN	Bobo	Madras
TOHODEL		Karikal
TERIVY, dit Mariapin		Madras
THARVAW	Tanarsha	
THASTAGERESAL	Schakbabin	Calcutta
THERIVANGUELON		Madras
THOMAS	Antony & Sevériamoutou	Pondichéry
TILIAM	Moutix-Paléatchy	
TINAPAH	Goorapah	
TIRASSAMY PADEATCHY	Ramassamy	
TIROUPALSING BALLASING		Calcutta
TIRRIVIDY		Madras
VADAMABLE	Letchemy	Madras
VADAME	Vaily	
VADRAS		Madras
VADRAS	Coupanaguin	Madras
VADRAZE		Madras
VAGABOURY MESTRY		Cornadou, prés Madras
VAITY	Virin	
VAITY	Aroquécanan	
VAITY	Marimoutou	
VAITY		Tanlagabady
VANTCHAPA	Vantchapa	
VARASSAMY		Madras
VARASSAMY		Madras
VAROUELIN, ou MAROUDIN		Madras
VARAYANIN	Ambasarone	
VAYAVERY	Sinétamby Parassamy	Madras
VELAYDUM	Parassouramin	Naspour (Malabar)
VELAYEDON	Cambocetty	Madras
VELAYONDAME		Madras
VECRASSON	Mootorama	
VELIN		prés Karikal
VELIN		Karikal
VELLAYEN	Karakanchetty	
Venetan	Mouttou	
VENETAUL		Madras
VINGADASSAMY	Avidinetty	
VENIETAN	Moujingélan	
VENKATAMASSY	Chengabrayanick	

APPENDIX IV—(*Contd.*)

NAMES OF INDIAN MIGRANTS

Name	*Son of*	*Place of Birth*
VERASSAMY		environs de Madras
VERASSAMY		Madras
VERASSAMY		Pondichéry
VIDYEN		prés Pondichéry
VINGADALASSAMY	Coullapanakin	
VINGADASALOMUNESTRY		Malagambrety, prés Madras
VINGASSAMY	Rangassamy	
VINGATARAMIN	Ramassamy	
VINGADASSALOM		Pondichéry
VINGADASSALOM		Pondichéry
VINGADASSALOM	Aronnnaguery	
VINGADASSALOM		Pondichéry
VINGADASSALOM		Pondichéry
VINGADASSAMY		Madras
VINGADASSAMY	Virassamy	
VINGALASSAMY		Calcutta
VINGUINTIN	Mangassalom	
VINGUSTIN		Madras
VIRAMOUTOU	Vilton	
VIRAPATRIM	Anguedevin	
VIRAPIN	Ponin	Tiritchinapally
VIRAPIN		Madras
VIRAPIN		Madras
VIRAPIN	Ponin	
VIRAPIN	Moutiére	
VIRAPIN	Arin	
VIRAPIN	Vingadassalom	
VIRAPIN	Carpin	
VIRASSAMY	Ramin	
VIRASSAMY	Yellapanaiti	
VIRASSAMY	Mootlcalingon	
VIRAVIN ou VIRARAVIN ou VIRAGOU	Vingadassamy	
VIRIN	Tandaven	Madras
VIRIN	Vaity	
VIRIN		Madras
VIRIN	Ramin	
VIRISSAMY	Chellafrin	Pondichéry
VIRUNCOUTY		Madras
YANGATASSAMY	Ramin	
YENKETA	Narsimmah	
YUNGADOO	Goorapah	

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"In Martinique the number of immigrants is now so much reduced that there is no chance of there ever being at one time enough immigrants to fill a ship, and the authorities have adopted the plan of sending them as third class passengers at short intervals, and in small batches, by the Transatlantic mail steamers. Several of these parties of immigrants returning as passengers must have arrived in India, and if on inspection it is found that their condition on board these ships is equal to that of those returning in regularly appointed cooly ships, the system might be extended to other small colonies, and this vexed question of the provision of a ship for return passage for ever laid at rest. Even, as will probably be found, improvements and precautions are necessary. I would still continue to allow the use of mail steamers as preventing much hardship and injustice to emigrants who wish to return to India.

In colonies like Guadeloupe, Cayenne, Martinique, Surinam, St. Lucia, and Jamaica, employing few immigrants, it must happen that considerable periods will elapse before a sufficient number can be collected who will definitely decide to return, and in the meantime those who are genuinely anxious to go and are so entitled are at a great disadvantage. They cannot go as they were promised they should, and here if they go back to the estate they will probably be induced to sign another contract for five years' labour.

In colonies such as British Guiana and Trinidad, where the immigrant population is large, it will always be found better and more economical to charter ships for the return passage; but for smaller colonies some other arrangement must be found, and the best appears to be that described. Whether the return passage is provided in a cooly ship or mail steamer, the colony will always be responsible that reasonable precautions are taken as to the suitability of the ship employed, and the provision of food, clothing, and medical necessaries.

Among those returned are 242 under the following heads: Paupers, criminals, bad characters, habitual idlers, inefficient, inform, old, blind, lepers, maimed or otherwise permanently incapacitated for work, and who would have remained as a permanent burden on the public institutions of the colony."

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Bibliography of Dissertations on Tamilology

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The following is the List of Theses in Tamilology submitted to the various Universities in India. They were awarded Degrees noted against them. The years mentioned are the years in which the theses were submitted. The transliteration system is that of the Tamil Lexicon of the University of Madras. (The Theses are available for consultation with the authors or with the Departments of the Universities concerned or with the University Libraries.) Omissions if brought to my notice will be corrected in an Addendum. Wherever possible the address of the author is given with his name. (T.T.=Thesis Title. Pub.=Published. Univ.=University. Pp.=Pages. Deg.=Degree awarded. A.W.=Available with. Ta.=Tamil. Lib.=Library. Ling.=Linguistics. Con.=Contents. S.I.=Source of Information. Mad.=Madras. Anna.=Annamalai. Bib=Bibliography. MULT.=Madras Univ. List of Theses. IUBB.=Inter Univ. Board Bibliography of Theses. TSA.=Tamil Studies Abroad. AUT.=Annamalai University and Tamil. V.I.S.=V.I. Subramoniam. S.V.S.=S. V. Shanmugham).

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(4) Fourth Case :	,,
(5) Fifth Case :	,,
(6) Sixth Case :	,,
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(4) Geography, (5) Society, (6) Society(contd.), (7) Conception of Beauty, Part II. The Language of Aiṅkuṟunūṟu, (1) Pronouns, (2) Verbs-General, (3) Verbs—Conjugation, (4) The Verbal Nouns, etc., (5) Conclusion, Bibliography, Annotated Index (Appendix) ; S.I. : Madras Univ.

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Influence II. The Indirect Influence—From 19th Century to 20th Century, *Assessment of English Influence*: (1) Poetry, etc., (II) Theatre and Drama, (III) Prose, (IV) History, Research, Criticism, etc., (V) Conclusion, Appendix I, II, III ; S.I. : Madras Univ. Lib.

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Reference to Images, (V) Festivals of Muruka, (VI) Legends and Surnames of Muruka, Conclusion, Books consulted ; S.I. : Author.

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144. MRS. ADILAKSHMI, M. (No more) ; T.T. : Saivism in Telugu Literature and its Contribution to South Indian Culture ; Pp. IV+379+69 (Bib.) ; Deg. : M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1957 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Lib. ; Con. : Introduction, *History* : (I) Religion and Literature, (II) Saivism before the Dawn of Telugu Literature, (III) Saivism in Mahābhārata, (IV) Nannichōda's Kumārasambhavamu, (V) Panditatrayamu, (VI) Palkuriki Sāmanātha : A. Life and Works, B. Teachings, (VII) Age of Tikkaṇa, (VIII) Age of Srināthа, (IX) Age of Krishṇadēvarāya, (X) Southern School, (XI) Later Prabandha Age, (XII) The Modern Age, *Contribution*, (XIII) Tamil, (XIV) Saiva Bhaktas of Kannada and Aryan origin, (XV) Contemporary Social conditions, (XVI) Contribution to

Sanskrit and Kannada, (XVII) Cultural Traditions, Conclusion, Bib.; S.I.: Madras Univ. Library.

145. MISS CHAMPAKA LAKSHMI, R. (Lecturer, Univ. of Madras); T.T.: Jainism in South India; Pp. 5+296+10 (Bib.) with 18 Photo Plates; Deg.: M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1958; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Con.: Preface, Abbreviations, List of Illustrations, (I) Introductory, (II) The origin and early history of Jainism in North India, Appendices: A. The Svētāmbaras and the Digambaras, B. The Ājīvikas, C. The Yapaniyas, (III) The Coming in of Jainism to South India, (IV) Fortunes of Jainism in the Tamil Country, (V) Jaina Centres and Jaina Teachers, (VI) Jaina Monachism, (VII) Jaina Literature in Tamil, (VIII) Jaina Art, (IX) The Place of Jainism in South India. Bib.; S.I.: Madras Univ. Lib.

146. DEO, S. B.; T.T.: The History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature; Deg.: Ph.D. of Baroda Univ. in 1952; S.I.; IUBB.

147. GOPALAN, S.; T.T.: Hindu Social Philosophy—An Interpretation; Deg.: Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1964; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; S.I.: MULT.

148. GOPALAN, S.; T.T.: Hindu Social Philosophy; Pp. ii+147+ii (Bib.); Deg.: M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1957; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Con.: I. (1) Introduction, (2) Religion, (3) Philosophy and Religion; Social Significance of Religion, (4) Ethics and Society, (5) Hindu Ethics, II. Metaphysical Implications of Hindu Social Philosophy, (1) Introduction, (2) Scope of Social Philosophy, (3) The Karma Theory, (4) The Triple Yōga, (5) Conclusion, III. The Caste System, (1) Introduction, (2) Varṇa Dharma, (3) Caste, (4) Evolution of the System, (5) Untouchability, IV. The Status of Individual, His duties and Rights, (1) Introduction, (2) The First Stage or Bramcārya, (3) The Second Stage or Grahasthāsrama, (4) The Third Stage or Vānaprasthāsrama, (5) The Final Stage or Sannyāsāsrama, V. The Four 'Ends' of life, (1) Introduction, (2) Dharma, (3) Artha and Kama, (4) Mōksha. Bib.; S.I.: Madras University Lib.

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mānta Maha Dēsika's Srimat Rahasya Trayasāram, Pp. ii+208+3 ; Deg.: M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1948 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Lib. ; Con. : Preface, Part I. Introduction, History of Srīvaisnavism, Srī Piḷḷai Lōkācārya's Srīvacana Bhūṣaṇa, Srī Dēsika's Srimat Rahasya Trayasāram ; Principal Tenets, Part II, A. The Categories (Tattva), (i) The Lord (Isvara) Grace, Srī (ii) Inner Matter (acit), (iii) The Individual Soul (cit) Dharmabhūtagnāna, B. The Manas (Hita), (I) Siddōpāya (Ever—attained means) and Sādhyōpāya (to be attained means), (II) Surrender (Prapathi), (III) The Three Secrets (Rahasyatraya), (IV) The Teacher, C. The Goal (Puruṣārtha) Part III. A Critical Estimate, Bib. ; S.I. : Madras Univ. Lib.

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157. Varadachari, K. C. ; T.T. : The Theory of Knowledge in Shri Rāmānuja's Philosophy (Pub. as Sri Rāmānuja's Theory of Knowledge : A Study, Pp. VIII+170+63 App.+5 Ind.) ; Deg. : Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1932 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Library ; Published by Sri Venkateswara oriental Institute, Tirupati, S.I. ; Contents (Published work expanded) : Foreword, Introduction, (I) The Theory of Perception, (II) Intuition and Srutipramāṇa, (III) The Nature of Consciousness, (IV) The cognitive Relation, (V) The Problem of Unity, (VI) Brahman—The Highest Unity, (VII) Conclusion, Appendices, (I) Visiṣṭādvaita Theory of Perception, (II) A Study of Dreams in the Philosophy of Sri Rāmānuja, (III) Dēhātmabharama in Visiṣṭādvaita, (IV) Negation in Visiṣṭādvaita, Index ; S.I. : Book.

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160. APPADORAI, A.; T.T.: Economic Conditions in South India 1000–1500 A.D.; Published in 1936, Vol. I and II, Pp. XII+765+127; Deg.: Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1935; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Pub. by Madras Univ.; Con.: Foreward etc., (I) Introductory, (II) The Economic Life of the village Community, (III) Towns and Internal Trade, (IV) A Survey of Industries, (V) Foreign Trade, (VI) The Sphere of the State, (VII) Charitable Work, Famines, and Poor relief, (VIII) The Standard of Life, Appendices, (IX) List of Authorities, Index; S.I.: Book.

161. AROKIASAMI, M., (No more); T.T.: Early History of the Vēlār Basin with Spl. ref. to the Irukkuvēḷs of Koṭumpalūr, a Study in Veḷḷāḷā Origin and Early History; Pp. 222+9 Bib.; Deg.: Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1947; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Pub.; Con.: Introduction, Pt. I, (1) The Origin of Vēḷs, (2) The Vēḷs at the Dawn of History, (3) The Early Vēḷs in the South, Pt. II, (4) The Early Irukkuvēḷs, (5) First Achievements, (6) The Three Great Chiefs, (7) The Irukkuvēḷ—Muttariyaṉ Relations, (8) Ādityavarman and the later Irukkuvēḷs, (9) The End of Irukkuvēḷs, (10) Irukkuvēḷ Influences; S.I.: Madras Univ. Lib.

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163. BALASUNDARAM, S. N.; T.T.: Administrative Policies of the Govt. of Madras 1800-1835; Pp. XIII+581+47 (Appendix etc., Bib. 6); Deg.: M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1963; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Con.: Preface, Argument, Introduction, Pt. I—Prologue, (I) Formation of Madras Presidency, (II) Constitution of the Company's Govt. in India, (III) Evolution of the General Executive Administration, (IV) Extension of the Madras Executive System, (V) Restoration of Law and

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170. GOVINDASAMY, M.S., M.A. ; T.T. : The Role of Feudatories in Pallava History ; (Pub. in 1968), Pp. VIII+169+4 (Bib.)+6 (Ind.) ; Deg.: M.Litt. of Anna. Univ, in '58 ; A.W. : Anna. Univ. Con. : Foreward etc., (I) Bāṇas, (II) Muttaraiyars, (III) Koṭumpāḷūr Chiefs, (IV) The Cōḻās of Uṟaiyur and Paḻaiyaṟāi, (V) The Cōḻās of Rēṉāḍu, (VI) The Atiyamāṉs, (VII) The Western Gangas, (VIII) The Individual Feudatories, Conclusion, Bibliography, Index ; S.I. : Book.

171. HARI RAO, V. N. : T.T. : HISTORY of Trichinopoly and Sri Rangam ; Deg. : Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1947 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Lib.

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183. PILLAI, K. K. (Former Prof. of Hist. Madras Univ.) ; T.T. : The Sucindram Temple ; (Pub. in 1953), Pp. XIX+448+72 ; Deg. : D.Litt. of Madras

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229. VAITHILINGAM, S. (Lecturer in Tamil (Arts) Anna. Univ.); T.T.: Fine Arts and Crafts in Pattuppāṭṭu and Eṭṭuttokai; Pp. 387+3 (Bib.); Deg.: M.Litt. of Anna. Univ. in 1964; A.W.: Anna. Univ. Lib.; Con.: Pt. A. Fine Arts, (1) Nature of Art and Artistic skill, (2) Music, (3) Dance (4) Drama, (5) Painting, (6) Sculpture, (7) Architecture, Pt. B. Crafts,

(8) Crafts with Agriculture, (9) The Art of Blacksmith, (10) Carpentry, (11) Weaving, (12) Pottery, (13) Metalic works, (14) Olai works and Coin Making, (15) Leather work, (16) Toys ; S.I. : S.V.S., Anna Univ.

230. VENKATARAMANAYYA, N. ; T.T. : An Essay on the Origin of the South Indian Temples ; (Pub. in 1930) Pp. 79+4 ; Deg. : Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1930 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Con. : (1) Introduction, (2) The Sacred Tree, (3) The Pre-Historic Caves, (4) The Stone Ring or the Magic Circle, (5) The Toda Āzārams and the Primitive Temple, (6) The Primitive Temple and the Temple of the Village Deity, (7) The Origin of the Vimāna, (8) The Buddhist Origin of the Hindu Temple, (9) The Extent of the Buddhist Indebtedness, the Stūpa, (10) The Chaitya, (11) The Buddhist Temple and the Hindu Temple, (12) The Pallavas and the South Indian Temple, (13) The Dolmen Temple and Toda Boath, (14) The Vimānas of Different Types, (15) The conclusion ; S.I. : Book.

RELATED TO TAMIL FINE ARTS STUDIES

231. APPUKUTTAN, V. M.A. ; T.T. : A Study of Naḷacharitam Kathakali; Pp. iii+3 +194+V (Bib.)+1+XVII (Index)+60 (App.) ; Deg.: M.Litt. of Mad. in 1968 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Lib. ; Con.: Preface, etc., Introduction, (I) The origin and growth of Kathakali, (II) Naḷakatha, (III) Unnāyi Vāriyar and his works, (IV) Deviations from the original, (V) Different Readings and Interpretations, (VI) Language and Literature, (VII) The dramatic element in Naḷacharitam, (VIII) Music in Naḷacharitam, (IX) Conclusion, Bib., Appendix, Index, etc. ; S.I. : Madras Univ. Lib.

232. EDITH, R. WALSALAM B.A. ; T.T. : Folk Music and Dance in Kerala ; Pp. 4+ 11+3+4 ; Deg. : M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1942 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Lib. ; Con. : Preface, (1) Introduction, (2) Folk Songs, (3) Rāga and Tāla, (4) Folk-Dance of Kerala, (5) Kathakali, (6) Devil Dancing, (7) Musical Instruments, (8) Composers, (9) The Literary, Cultural and Linguistic Value of the Folk Songs, (10) Folk-Dance of Kerala and other Countries : A Study in comparison and contrast, (11) Conclusion, Glossary of terms, Ref. ; S.I. : Madras Univ. Lib.

233. JAYALAKSHMI, R. ; T.T. : Seats of Music in India in the Past ; Pp. 111 (Bib.)+149+3 (Glossary) ; Deg. : M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1951 ; A.W. : Madras Univ. Lib. ; Con. : Introduction, (1) Ancient Seats of Music till the end of the Gupta period, (2) Seats of Music under the Tamil Kings of S.I., (3) Seats of Music connected with Bakthi cult, (4) Birth Places of Musicians and Composers in India, (5) Delhi as a Seat of Music under the Khiljis and the Moghuls, (6) Minor seats of Music in N.I., (7) Major Seats of Music in S.I., (I) Vijayanagara, (8) Major Seats of Music in S.I., (II) Tanjore, (9) Other Major Seats of Music in S.I.: Travancore and Mysore, (10) Minor Seats of Music in S.I., Conclusion, Glossary ; S.I. : Madras Univ. Lib.

234. MRS. KALAVATHI, K. A.; T.T.: A Study of the Temple-Dramas of Kerala with regard to Criticism of Life in them; Deg.: Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1964; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; S.I.: MULT.

235. MISS KAUSALYA, P. N., B.A.; T.T.: Telugu Padakaras; Pp. VII+206+44: Deg.: M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1955; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Con.: (I) The Origin and Development of the Musical Form Pada in Telugu and other languages, (II) Pada and its Lakshaṇa, (III) Pada-Nāṭya Lakshya, (IV) Madhura Bhakti, (V) Padas-Sāhitya value and suggestive bhāvas, (VI) Rāgas and Tālas and other technical beauties figuring in the Padas, (VII) Major composers of Padas, A. Kshētrayya, B. Tallapākkam Annamāchārya, (VIII) Minor composers of padas, Appendix, (I) Some rare Padas with notation, (II) Unpublished Padas, Bib.; Madras Univ. Lib.

236. KRISHNAN NAMBUDIRIPAD, P. C., M.A.; T.T.: Kūṭiyāṭṭam; Pp. VII+174+6 (Bib.)+(App.); Deg.: M.Litt. of Madras Univ. in 1962; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Con.: (1) Preface, (2) Introduction, (3) Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam, (4) Cākyar, (5) A Typical play, (6) The stage, (7) Make-up and Costume, (8) Music and Musical Instruments, (9) Important Skt. Plays staged, (10) Role of Vidūshaka, (11) Kūṭiyāṭṭam, Its contribution, (12) Some Actors, etc., (13) Conclusion. App., I, II, III and IV, Bib.; S.I.: Madras Univ. Lib.

237. MISS MARY, L. ISAAC; T.T.: Wind Instruments of India; Deg.: Ph.D. of Madras Univ. in 1965; A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.

238. MRS. SAMPATH KUMARI, S.; T.T.: Bhadrāchala Rāmadās. His Life, His Contributions to Music and Influence upon Subsequent Composers; Pp. v+iii+ii+240+21+38+15+(1 Bib.); A.W.: Madras Univ. Lib.; Con.: Introduction, (I) Bhadrāchala Rāmadās, His Life, (II) Devotion of Rāmadās, (III) Contribution and Style of Rāmadās, (IV) Musical Aspect of Rāmadās, (V) Influence, Appendices, (III) Bib.; S.I.: Madras Univ. Lib.

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Part II

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Report submitted by Mr. A. Subbiah, Member-Secretary, Managing Committee on his visiting mission to fourteen countries with an UNESCO grant.

News and Notes

International Association of Tamil Research

Minutes of the emergent meeting of the Governing Body held at Madras on August 9, 1969.

PRESENT :

Prof. Jean Filliozat, *President, I.A.T.R.*

Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, *Secretary General, I.A.T.R.*

Prof. V. I. Subramoniam, *Secretary General, I.A.T.R.*

Mr. A Subbiah, *Treasurer, I.A.T.R.*

Third International Tamil Conference. It was resolved that the announcement be made :

The Third International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies sponsored by the International Association of Tamil Research will be held at the College de France in Paris from the 15th to the 18th of July, 1970. The International Association of Tamil Research was founded at the 26th International Congress of Orientalists which met in New Delhi on the 7th of January 1964. The International Association of Tamil Research has convened so far two very successful conferences. The first Conference-Seminar was held at the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur in April 1966, and the Second Conference-Seminar was held in Madras in January 1968. The Proceedings of the First Conference have been already published in two volumes and are available at the Higginbothams, Mount Road, Madras and at the Tamil Conference Secretariat. The Proceedings of the Second Conference are being prepared for the press.

The meetings of the Third Conference-Seminar will be chiefly devoted to a discussion of survey papers prepared and circulated in advance concerning research in various fields of Tamil Studies. Some of the subjects of survey papers already decided upon are—

The Chronology of Cankam literature based on Grammar

Modern Tamil writing and literature

The History of Tamil migrations

Tamil and Sanskrit

The Exterior Relations of Tamil Nad and the Expansion of Indian culture.

Since the number of participants at the Paris Conference will be limited, research scholars who wish to participate at the Third Conference-Seminar are requested to indicate, as early as possible, their intension to the Secretariat at one of the following addresses :

EFEO–22, avenue du President–Wilson, Paris–16, France

Thamilakam, 14/1, Sterling Road, Nungambakkam, Madras–34, India.

Other information concerning the Paris Conference-Seminar will be the subject of a circular letter which will be despatched later. It is regretted, however, that the Organizing Committee is not in a position to bear the expenses of travel of participants, or the entire expenses of their sojourn in Paris for the period of the Conference.

The Secretariat will be grateful for the early registration of participants. A limited number of observers will also be admitted to the Conference-Seminar :

J. Filliozat, *Chairman, Oraganizing Committee*

R. E. Asher

V. I. Subramoniam

Xavier S. Thani Nayagam

Kamil Zvelebil, *Secretaries-General, International Association of Tamil Research.*

2. *Consultations between the Government of Tamil Nadu and the Managing Committee of the I.I.T.S. and the I.A.T.R.* As consultation between the Managing Committee of the I.I.T.S. and the I.A.T.R. may often be necessary, it was resolved that the following consultative Committee be appointed for the purposes :

Prof. Jean Filliozat, *President*

Dr. K. K. Pillai, *Vice-President*

Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, *Secretary General*

Prof V. I. Subramoniam, *Secretary General*

Mr. A. Subbiah, *I.A.T.R. representative on the Managing Committee of the I.I.T.S.*

Mr. Subbiah, and during his absence Prof. Thani Nayagam, will be the Convenor.

3. *Distribution of work amongst the Secretaries General.* As Prof. Thani Nayagam is now in a position to devote more time to the affairs of the I.A.T.R. it was agreed that

Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam will attend to

(i) work relating to the I.A.T.R.

(ii) editing and proof reading of the J.O.T.S.

(iii) work relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the II International Tamil Conference (other than editing which is being done by Mr. Asher)

Prof. V. I. Subramoniam will attend to

all work relating to the J.O.T.S., except editing and proof reading.

MADRAS,
9th August 1969. *Secretary General*

Press Release

Your Correspondent was presented yesterday for Review with the Second Volume of the Proceedings of the First International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held in Kuala Lumpur in April 1966. The First Volume was released at the time of the Madras Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held in January 1968. In making this presentation Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam and Prof. V. I. Subramoniam, Secretaries General of the International Association of Tamil Research, stated that the two volumes were magnificent productions and contained most valuable and original material concerning various aspects of Tamil Studies. Further the Second Volume contains also Appendices and documentation about the origin and development of the International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies. Copies of the Second Volume had been already presented to the following persons :

Rajaji

Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar

Hon'ble Thiru M. Karunanidhi, *Chief Minister to the Government of Tamil Nadu*

Mr. M. Bhakthavatsalam, *former Chief Minister to the Government of Tamil Nadu*

Thiru V. R. Nedunchezhiyan

Mr. C. Subramaniam.

For the first time about 100 different scholars from 45 Universities the world over had made original contribution concerning the Tamil cultural influences in South East Asia and various original studies in the interpretation of Tamil language and literature. The Minister for Education Mr. V. R. Nedunchezhiyan as well as the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras Mr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu were greatly impressed by these volumes and have recommended them for purchase by institutions of higher learning. The two volumes are priced at Rs. 250 and are available at Higginbothams, Madras.

The *Journal of Tamil Studies*, the first copy of which was also presented to your Correspondent, is another venture of the International Association of Tamil Research the prominent members of which were earlier responsible for the publication of 'Tamil Culture'. This Journal meets the academic requirements in the modern world and its growing interest in Dravidian Studies in general and Tamil Studies in particular. As a result of discussions during the Second International Conference of Tamil Studies held in Madras (1968), and the enthusiastic response to such a proposal from an international Board of Editors, the *Journal of Tamil Studies* has been launched as a half annual review with the hope that it might be published quarterly as soon as circumstances permit.

The Journal's official address is Thamilakam, 14/1, Sterling Road, Madras-34.

South Indian Studies Society Formed at Taxas University

A New society for South Indian studies, based at the Centre for Asian Studies at the University of Taxas, in Austin, is doing its part to bridge "a scholarly communication gap" among specialists of South Indian culture.

" Before the formation of the society, a number of the scholars had never met each other, although they were in the same field of study, belonged to the same national organisation (Association for Asian Studies) and had the same common concerns and research interests ", says Dr. Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., assistant professor of government and the society's chairman designate.

" Now we are exchanging scholarly papers and plan to publish a society newsletter and a Who's Who in South Indian Studies ", he says.

The Society, an outgrowth of the larger national Association for Asian Studies (AAS), first began to take shape following the completion of the association's annual meeting in the spring of 1968.

" About 17 South Indian specialists met for breakfast and decided that there was a considerable need for the organisation of a South India Committee within the association". Dr. Hardgrave recalls.

The fundamental concern of the society thus far has been the establishment of channels of communication for scholars concentrating in particular areas of research in South Indian studies, he says.

" I personally feel that committees such as our society facilitate a communication linkup in which scholars in a specialised region may meet, discuss topics and exchange scholarly papers."

Fundamental concern

The society is not the first group to begin field specialisation with the Asian Studies programme.

In the past two years, other regional committees have been organised within the AAS, including the Punjab, Maharashtra and Bengal committees.

(*American Reporter—16-7-1969*)

Indus Script

An article in the current issue of Antiquity suggests that the solution of the Indus Valley script by four Finnish scholars, which was tentatively announced some time ago, is " substantially correct." The authors, Sir Gerard Clauson, a former president of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Dr. John Chadwick of Cambridge University, say that, if the Finnish claim is justified, it is a " brilliant technical achievement."

The article supplies some interesting information on what the Finnish scholars have been able to guess with the help of a computer. Some signs often appear together in groups, and this suggested that the groups were complete words. The same word occurs often with different signs at the end. The terminal sign must be a case ending. The Finns have identified the signs for a genitive, dative and plural case. Two other terminal signs seem to alternate with each other in the same context. One, a " sticklike drawing of a human figure ", obviously stands for " man ". The inference follows that the counterpart sign, resembling a comb, means " woman ".

The article in Antiquity apparently does not take into account the criticism made in some circles in India that the computer was set to work only on selected signs, about 300. But there are about 2,000 Indus Valley inscriptions. It has been suggested that the Finnish scholars' conclusions, while doubtless correct in some particulars, do not provide the full story.

(*Indian Express dated 8-9-1969*)

International Institute of Tamil Studies

Report submitted by Mr. A. Subbiah, Member-Secretary, Managing Committee on his visiting mission to fourteen countries with an UNESCO grant.

PART I

Genesis of the Mission

A Detailed Project for the establishment of the International Institute of Tamil Studies (I.I.T.S.) (copy enclosed for ready reference), drafted by an Expert Committee of scholars nominated by the Tamil Nadu State Unesco Committee, was submitted to the UNESCO through the Government of India in July 1968. On the basis of the following note by the Director-General of the UNESCO :

> The Second International Conference on Tamil studies held in Madras in January 1968, with support from Unesco given at the request of the Indian Government, has stressed the need and importance of promoting research in an area which corresponds, in many ways, to the leading principles of the cultural studies programme of Unesco, i.e., such areas as :
>
> (*i*) study in depth of a specific culture, *of interest to a whole region;*
>
> (*ii*) *insufficiently studied upto now at the international level: and*
>
> (*iii*) *requiring interdisciplinary co-ordination.*
>
> These criteria being applicable to the Indian request, it is proposed to use the same procedure as the one followed in the case of similar institutions, like the Colegio de Mexico, and of other area studies projects which have proved efficient, like the Balkan studies programme, namely :
>
> (1) to provide advisory or staff assistance to the project using the funds in project 3·32 ;
>
> (2) to help, by strengthening implantation at the national level, with assistance under the Participation programme. The Madras Conference indicated that such aid as research fellowships to the personnel of the Institute or the granting of books to establish a documentation centre might be among the first needs ;
>
> (3) when such structures are firmly established, and taking into account the first scholarly results, to consider for 16 C/5 the possibility of a co-ordinated programme involving various disciplines similar in character if not in extent, to the Central Asian project, or to the Buddhist art project, which have at present priority under 15 C/5 as a result of methodical preparation during a period of two years,

the UNESCO at the 15th General Conference in Paris in November 1968 adopted unanimously the following resolution moved by the Government of India :

The General Conference

> *Taking note* of the important conclusions for the promotion of cultural understanding and oriental scholarship reached at the Second International Conference-seminar on Tamil Studies held in Madras on 3-10 January 1968,
>
> *Having received* a report on the proposal arising from the Conference for the creation of an International Institute of Tamil Studies,
>
> *Authorises* the Director-General to assist India and other interested Member States in the creation of the above Institute in Madras, India,
>
> *Invites* the Member States to associate themselves in the creation and membership of the Institute, including the mutual assistance and co-operation required.

In the light of the report adopted by the experts' meeting organized at Paris on 20th November, 1968 to follow up this General Conference Decision, and taking into account the scientific and technical recommendations made by the two International Congresses of Tamil Studies, the three working meetings organized by the Tamil Nadu UNESCO Committee and, lastly, the technical advice of UNESCO tendered through its staff visit to the Project in February 1969, a Second Report (copy enclosed for ready reference) re-phasing the Programme and the Budget of the I.I.T.S. Project was adopted by the Tamil Nadu Unesco Committee at its meeting on February 12, 1969. This Second Report recommended UNESCO aid for an extensive mission by an Indian specialist, to contact scholars and institutions abroad, in view of establishing a network of international collaboration and working out a detailed programme for the Institute. In accordance with this recommendation, I undertook the visiting mission which lasted from August 17 to November 22. I visited about fifty universities and institutions, practically all of whom welcomed the formation of the Institute and extended their support to it. The National Commissions for Co-operation with UNESCO in all the countries visited extended to me full assistance and support, which enabled me to carry out my mission successfully within the short period of two to four days, which was all in effect available to me at each center having regard to the large number of centers I had to visit. Even so I was unable to find time for visiting African and East European countries and countries like Australia, Indonesia and South America. I had to postpone visits to Malaysia and Ceylon till such time as the climate for collaboration talks was more propitious. I shall give briefly in Part I a chronological account of my visit to the different centers and shall conclude in Part II with my general impressions in regard to the collaboration which we should endeavour to establish between the Institute and the various institutions abroad. I have given the names of the important scholars I met at each Center, to facilitate reference by the National Commissions of the UNESCO in the respective countries if desired in undertaking follow-up measures.

(*i*) *Moscow* (U.S.S.R.)

My first halt was at Moscow, where I had talks with Prof. Vadim Solutsev, Ag. Director, Institute of Oriental Studies (Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.) and Dr. M. Andronov, Head of the Department of Indian Languages of the Institute. Prof. Solutsev explained that the Oriental Institute—like the I.I.T.S.—was interested in research and post-graduate scholarship and that the Oriental Institute would extend full collaboration including exchange of Professors and post-graduate students for research and training. A communication has since been received from Dr. Andronov to the effect :

> *Mr. Subbiah's mission has received full support at the Institute* and an official document to this effect will soon be directed to our Commission for UNESCO.

As the University of Moscow was closed for the summer vacation at the time of my visit, I was unable to visit the University.

(*ii*) *Helsinki* (FINLAND)

The University of Helsinki was also on vacation but, interrupting his holiday in his country home about 100 kilometers away from Helsinki, Dr. Pentti Aalto, Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Helsinki, met me at the airport and discussed with me the Institute Project. Prof. Aalto, while expressing support to the Project, mentioned that he was contemplating translation of the well-known Tamil classic 'KURAL' into the Finnish language and in connection with this, as well as in connection with his research project relating to the now widely recognized affinities between the Finno-Ugric languages and a few other language families including the Dravidian, he felt that the *services of a competent Tamil scholar* would be useful. Unfortunately at the time of my visit, there was no incumbent to the post of the Secretary General of the Finnish National Commission, the earlier incumbent having accepted an important political assignment. Both Prof. Aalto and Mr. C. J. Stracey, the Indian Ambassador at Helsinki, kindly agreed however to discuss the matter of collaboration with the Tamil Institute with the new incumbent when appointed.

(*iii*) *Stockholm* (SWEDEN)

I met Prof. Siegfried Lienhard, Head of the Department of Indology at the University of Stockholm, who extended full support to the Tamil Institute. He has since written to me under date November 27, 1969 :

> Following a more modern trend, our indological teaching never was restricted to only Sanskrit, but has been imparted also in modern Indian languages, especially Hindi and Tamil....................The University of Stockholm is thus the only Scandinavian University possessing a syllabus governing the courses of Tamil language and civilisation (modern and ancient)

............The members of my staff and I have naturally been *very happy to learn that an International Institute of Tamil Studies is to be established* in Madras. We are all keenly interested in an exchange of experience and, provided financial assistance be lent by the UNESCO, also of research scholars and teachers. *What our department urgently needs is an Indian lecturer well trained in Tamil philology, especially in classical Tamil,* who principally ought to be attached to Stockholm University, but easily could serve the University of Stockholm as well as that of Uppsala. In the field of postgraduate research our main interests are linguistics and philology, and we would, therefore, as regards the co-operation with the International Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras, consider as our main task the elaboration of Tamil language handbooks and critical editions of important texts together with Indian scholars of Tamil. Mr. Kal-Gunner Lidstrom, First Secretary to the Swedish National Commission, suggested that if feasible the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies at Copenhagen might consider co-ordinating the collaboration between each of its constituent members (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) and the Tamil Institute.

(*iv*) *Uppsala* (SWEDEN)

I next visited Dr. Stig Wikander, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Uppsala (established in the 15th century) and Mrs. H. L. Wallden who is teaching Tamil at the university, both of whom expressed support to the Tamil Institute. Prof. Wikander added that he was interested in developing Tamil Studies at the university. He was also making arrangements for the publication of a translation of KURAL into the Swedish language by Rev. Yngve Frykholm. Mrs. Wallden mentioned that she has already twelve students under her studying Tamil but that *the university would need the services of a competent Tamil scholar* to teach Tamil classical literature.

(*v*) *Copenhagen* (DENMARK)

The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies hosted my visit. This Institute was founded in 1967 to 'encourage, stimulate and support all work which can enrich Asian Studies and to act as a Channel of Communication through which information can flow to scholars in Scandinavia about work carried out by their colleagues abroad and vice versa.' Their latest effort in this respect is the decipherment of the Indus Valley Script which, according to their findings, is a proto-Dravidian language. The Institute is financed by contributions from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden, Denmark as the host country providing premises, furniture and their upkeep. The Institute is an independent institution with a governing body consisting of scholars but the Ministry of Education appoints an auditor to look into the accounts and supervise the finances of the Institute. I visited several institutions and met the following scholars amongst others :

University of Copenhagen — Mr. Hans Hendriken, Professor of Sanskrit.

Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies	Miss Benedicte Hjejle (interested in economic history of South India).
	Dr. Asko Parpola (the SIAS member of the Finnish Team concerned with the deciperment of the Indus Valley script, as a Proto-Dravidian language).
	Mr. Eric Grinsted, Librarian.
	Mr. Karl-Reinhold Haellquist.
State Archives of Denmark	Mr. A. Rasch.
Danish National Commission for UNESCO.	Mrs. Birgit Nielson.

In a Joint Conference convened by the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, all the above mentioned persons expressed their interest and support to the I.I.T.S. I append extracts from an aide-memoire of the discussions sent to me by Dr. Parpola :

'Prof. Hendriken said that the Department of Indology would like to establish exchange of literature, information and teachers with the I.I.T.S. and that Tamil teachers would be especially welcome in the University of Copenhagen.'

'Miss Hjejle drew attention to the large collections of Tamil inscriptions and literature both in London and Madras and the urgency of making them more available for scholars. She pointed out that one of the greatest services that I.I.T.S. could give to the universities and institutes would be the *publication of texts and translations.*'

'Mr. Grinstead stressed the value of an information service so that the I.I.T.S. would have something in addition to publications to offer in exchange. Out-of-print books could also be reprinted. He also suggested that the I.I.T.S. should start publishing a Newsletter.

'Mrs. Nielsen said that the Danish National UNESCO Commission is an administrative link between the UNESCO and the Danish Government and would give any help and co-operation needed.'

'Dr. Parpola took up the suggestion of the Scandinavian Institute acting as a link between the I.I.T.S. and UNESCO Commission on the one hand and the Scandinavian universities and scholars on the other and the representatives of the Scandinavian Institute stated that the Institute is willing to help in the co-ordination but does not insist on being in the way and monopolizing the contacts.'

I also visited the Royal Library, which was established in the 15th century. The Oriental Section alone has 275,000 manuscripts and books in oriental languages including Tamil. There was a palm leaf manuscript of the Tamil Classic 'KURAL'

consisting of 133 leaves, with five couplets written legibly on each side of the leaf; this manuscript I was informed was three centuries old. Mr. Frede Moller-Kristensen, the Head of the Oriental section, enquired of the possibility of getting help for completing the cataloguing of Tamil Manuscripts in the library. He was prepared to supply the I.I.T.S. with a xerox-copied or microfilmed copy of the preliminary catalogue. On the recommendation of Prof. V. I. Subramoniam of the University of Kerala, a young Tamil scholar has just joined the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies to assist Dr. Asko Parpola in the work of deciphering the Indus Valley script of the third Millenium B.C. Subject to the requirements of this work, the Tamil scholar may be available also to the Royal Library for helping in the cataloguing of Tamil Manuscripts, including what is known as 'Tranquebar Collections.'

(*vi*) *Cologne* (GERMANY)

I had talks with Prof. K. L. Janert and Dr. Bernard Kolver of the Institute of Indology at the University of Cologne as well as with Dr. Peter Schmoock of the German Unesco Commission. Dr. Janert was keen on establishing collaboration with the I.I.T.S. and has already taken follow-up measures as will be seen from the following extracts from a letter addressed by Prof. Janert* to the German National Commission for UNESCO :

> For some time I have concerned myself together with Dr. Kolver with this project and I am convinced of the scientific urgency as well as of the quality of the plan as it is organized by Mr. Subbiah.
>
> Because Tamils live scattered throughout the entire world, *the establishment of the Institute must be an international task* through which at least the ancient and significant culture of the Tamils will receive its highly necessary research center.
>
> For these reasons it appears to me justifiable and in the general interest for the German Unesco Commission to become involved actively in this project.

I also visited Badgodesberg where I met Dr. Heinz Hessberger, Director of the Agency for German Academic Exchange Service with foreign countries, who indicated that the Agency would favourably consider lending support to the Institute through exchange of scholars.

Dr. Bernard Kolver, who is soon to get a post-doctoral qualification for becoming a Professor, is interested in Tamil and other Dravidian studies, has had experience as an Assistant Librarian and knows well the problem of organizing a library for a new Institute (the Institute of Indology at Cologne having been separately organized only four or five years ago). It may be possible to obtain

* This scholar who had planned to spend the year 1970-71 in North India on study leave for pursuing his Sanskritic Studies has just written to me that he would prefer to come to Tamil Nad and take up Tamil Studies if adequate facilities are available.

his services on loan for the Tamil Institute for a period of say two years through the German Academic Exchange Service negotiated through the German National Commission for UNESCO. The successful working of the I.I.T.S. will largely depend on the ready access to a well stocked and well equipped library and it is desirable to secure the services, as early as possible preferably in 1970 itself, of a competent scholar with library experience and well versed in theory and practice of library organization to undertake the task of organizing the library of the I.I.T.S. and train suitable Tamil personnel. If it is possible to secure early the services of Dr. Kolver, a strong nucleus of the Institute's library could be built up before it starts functioning in 1971.

(*vii*) *Heidelberg* (GERMANY)

I met several scholars at the University of Heidelberg who expressed full support to the I.I.T.S. Project; among them were Prof. Dr. H. Berger, Director, South Asian Institute, Dr. Hans J. Vermeer, Department of Linguistics, Dr. Laurence Leshnik, Department of Archaeology, Prof. Hans. W. Gensichen, Department of Theology and Dr. G. D. Sontheimier, Department of Indology. At this ancient university in Europe, where Indology had been studied for well over a century, there was a general feeling that, owing to the neglect of Tamil or Dravidian Studies in the past, there were serious gaps in Indological studies, which could be filled in only by an intensive study of Tamil or Dravidian and there was *a consensus in favour of starting a separate chair for Tamil* at the University.

(*viii*) *Paris* (FRANCE)

I felt that Prof. Jean Filliozat, President of the International Association of Tamil Research which has taken the lead in organizing the I.I.T.S., was the fittest person to negotiate collaboration arrangements with French universities and institutions but as he was away from France at the time of my visit I left it to him to take such measures as he may deem desirable in this respect. I had of course talks with the officials of the UNESCO Secretariat.

(*ix*) *Amsterdam* (NETHERLANDS)

Prof. Dr. K. de Vreese, Department of Modern Indian Languages, University of Amsterdam, enthusiastically welcomed the formation of the I.I.T.S. and even suggested that he might be permitted to make a personal donation to the Institute. He is already taking follow-up measures as can be seen from the following extract of a letter sent by him to Prof. Kuiper of the Kern Institute at Leiden :

> Though the number of students in Tamil is still limited, *it is a matter of satisfaction to state that there is an increasing interest from the part of the students for Tamil Studies during the last few years.* Actually two students who passed their candidate-examination (one of them a most promising one) have taken Tamil as a subject of their doctoral-examination. Furthermore five students, four of whom are post-graduates, attend the Tamil classes for special linguistic purposes.

If this development continues in the years to come, collaboration to the I.I.T.S. could no doubt be realized in several of the forms mentioned on p. 2 ff. of the 'Note on Mr. A. Subbiah's Visiting Mission.'

As far as I am concerned, I could mainly offer my collaboration to the I.I.T.S. in the field of textual criticism and editing, as suggested in the said note sub 2(*a*).

(*x*) *Leiden* (NETHERLANDS)

I met Prof. F. B. J. Kuiper, an internationally well-known Indologist and Director of the Kern Institute, who extended full support to the Institute. An extract from his letter to the Dutch National Commission for Unesco is appended :

Although the study of Tamil by Europeans started as early as the 17th century (cf. the enclosed off-prints " Dutch Students of Tamil ") *the language remained almost completely outside the scope of Orientalists in the Western world until quite recently*. The fact that *Indology in the West which began after 1800, confined itself exclusively to Sanskrit* (*and consequently mainly to North India*) was a natural consequence of the importance of this Indo-European language for the linguistic comparison with European languages and of its special significance as a medium of civilization.

A reorientation in this traditional Indology is now coming about internationally, in Europe and in the U.S.A. This reorientation is a consequence of (1) the growing realization of the fact that *one-sided concentration on Sanskrit is no longer scientifically justified; linguistically not* because since prehistoric times Sanskrit has been strongly influenced by the non-related Dravidian languages; *culturally not* because a *well balanced picture of Old Indian culture is only possible by taking into account the Tamil literature* (*as the exponent par excellence of the Dravidian South*) *and its influence on Sanskrit literature* (2) the rise of the study of modern India (by the side of the traditional philological study of texts, modelled after Classical philology). For field-work in South India by historians, economists and cultural anthropologists a knowledge of Tamil is indispensable.

For these reasons the study of Tamil has become increasingly important internationally in the last decade, and in the Tamil country it is suddenly flourishing, which is demonstrated by the International Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras, founded with support of Unesco. By the side of the existing centres in Prague and Chicago, chairs for Tamil, respectively a centre of Tamil studies will now be founded in Germany and England.

A resolution passed by the General Assembly of the Unesco in Oct./Nov. 1968 requests member-States " to associate themselves.................. (etc.) "

The specifically Dutch interests which justify a declaration in this sense from the Netherlands are the following :

(1) the already existing situation that Tamil had been taught (since 1948) at Leiden University and is now also being taught at the Municipal University of Amsterdam; that it has become part of the regular curriculum of Indologists (*in December 1969 the first " doctoral "-examination with Tamil as main subject will be held*); and that to a certain extent the Netherlands are already considered a centre of Tamil Studies.

(2) plans to focus future Dutch field-work especially on South India and to start, on the basis of the records preserved in Dutch archives, the historical economic study of the Dutch East India Company in South India and Ceylon.

(3) *the great importance of a better knowledge of Dravidian India for the study of the Indonesian languages and literatures.*

(*xi*) *London* (U.K.)

The UNESCO Department of the Ministry of Overseas Development and the British Council had kindly made arrangements for my meeting the concerned scholars and officials of the following Institutions :

The School of Oriental & African Studies (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

I met Prof. T. W. Clarke, Head of the Department of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Prof. Clarke mentioned that, although a Tamil Department had been in existence for several years, the dearth of trained Tamil scholars has been a great handicap. The following extract from the Report for the Quinquennium for 1962—67 of the Department of the Languages and Cultures of India, Pakistan and Ceylon indicates the present trend in the University of London :

> The acceptance by Dr. Asher of a senior Lecturership in Edinburgh has meant that *the languages and literatures of South India are now represented by only one lecturer, part of whose time is devoted to the teaching of Indian Music* .... The Readerships in Bengali and Urdu have both been filled by promotion, and proposals have gone forward to the University for the *establishment of a chair in Bengali* and a *Readership in Hindi*, to take effect from the beginning of the new quinquennium.
>
> Courses in Bengali, Sanskrit and Urdu have been built, taught and revised from year to year, and all three are now in their final stages.......... Courses in Oriya, Sinhalese and Tamil also exist, but their effectiveness has not yet been adequately tested in the classroom.

Of the eleven Indians who took Higher Degrees for instance during the years 1966—67 and 1967—68, there was none from Tamil Nadu, the only Tamilian

being a scholar from Ceylon. The I.I.T.S. must take early steps to create a greater interest in Tamil Studies, in Universities in U.K. through the good offices of the UNESCO Department.

Library of the S.O.A.S.—I had discussions with Mr. B. C. Bloomfield, the Deputy Librarian of the School of Oriental & African Studies, who very kindly offered to assist the I.I.T.S. in building up its Library. The S.O.A.S. library is reported to be well 'on the way to becoming a national library' for oriental studies and its cooperation would be very valuable, particularly in the field of bibliographies such as the following :

(*a*) Union catalogue of Asian Publications.

(*b*) The complete library catalogue.

(*c*) Monthly list of titles added to the catalogue.

(*d*) A guide to Western manuscripts and documents in the British Isles relating to South and South East Asia.

(*e*) Oriental & Asian bibliography.

The Library also provides facilities for practical training to students of Librarianship. Mr. Bloomfield also agreed to supply available off-prints of articles (published in the Bulletin of the school) relating to Indian studies.

The British Museum.—I met Dr. Douglas Barrett, Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the Museum. As a well-known expert in art, particularly on the art of bronze-casting in Tamil Nadu from the early Chola period (9th century) to the 17th century, he welcomed the establishment of the I.I.T.S. and expressed his willingness to work at the Institute as Visiting Professor when the Department of Art & Archaeology is opened. He also promised to help in securing bibliographies relating to Tamil and Dravidian studies.

Mrs. Albertine Gaur, Keeper of the Oriental books and Manuscripts Library at the Museum, also undertook to extend all help to the I.I.T.S. She was formerly attached to the India Office Library, has considerable knowledge of books and manuscripts relating to Tamil and is herself interested in Tamil studies.

India Office Library.—I met Mr. S. C. Sutton, Librarian and Keeper of Records and Miss E. M. Dimes, Assistant Keeper, both of whom agreed to help the I.I.T.S. in building up its Library. The India Office is one of the largest oriental libraries and is important for Indian studies upto 1947, the year of Indian independence. The bibliographies and catalogues of this Library would be of great value to the I.I.T.S. Although catalogues of printed books have been published for Bengali, Gujarathi, Hindi, Hindustani, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Pushtu and Sindhi, no catalogue has yet been published of the 15,500 books in Tamil or of the 12,000 odd books in other Dravidian languages. The Library has facilities for reproduction of printed books in the form of microfilms, photocopies, xerographic copies etc.

The British Council.—Mr. S. E. Hodgson of the British Council indicated his support to the Project and at his suggestion I met Mr. Duncan Spencer to discuss the assistance which the British Council could extend to the I.I.T.S. in connection with language teaching programs at the School of Languages, which would be the first on the I.I.T.S. program. Mr. Spencer indicated firstly, that the British Council could extend facilities for a scholar nominated by the I.I.T.S. to acquire broad training in the Theory and Practice of teaching a language like Tamil as a second language, to enable the scholar to acquire the needed competence to introduce suitable techniques in the proposed School of Languages and secondly, that the services of a senior expert could be lent by the Council for organizing the School and placing it on a proper footing. Further, the English Teaching Information Centre (E.T.I.C.) in co-operation with Centre of Information on Language Teaching (C.I.L.T.) provide information about the teaching of modern languages in Great Britain and teaching English as a second language; they also provide specialised bibliographies and surveys of current work in these fields, publish a quarterly review of articles relating to second-language teaching and maintain a reference collection of audio-visual and recorded language-teaching materials.

The UNESCO Department of the Ministry of Overseas Development.—I met Messrs. Law and Jenkins of the UNESCO Department as well as Mr. Eaton of the Cultural Relations Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, all of whom expressed support. Messrs. Law & Jenkins, as already indicated, were extremely helpful in making contacts. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Ministry of Overseas Development (which acts as an agent for the UNESCO) cooperate with the Leverhulme Trust and the Ford Foundation 'for helping with the administration and planning of overseas universities and similar institutions'. It is understood that the Ministry of Overseas Development spent £ 2,50,000 for providing equipment to the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi and £ 45,000 for equipment provided to Centres of Advanced study in India; the Ministry also helps with the administration and planning of overseas universities and similar institutions by training administrative and planning staff and by making available the services of people of varying background and experience from a number of countries.

(*xii*) *New York* (U.S.A.)

Columbia University.—At a special lunch sponsored by the Southern Asian Institute of the Columbia University I met and discussed the I.I.T.S. Project with the following scholars :

Prof. William Diver Prof. Robert Austerlitz	Department of Linguistics.
Prof. Wayne Wilcox	.. Department of Political Science.
Prof. Barbara Miller	.. Department of Middle East Languages.

Prof. Alphonso Karkala .. Department of Oriental Studies.

Prof. Stanley Heginbotham .. Assistant to the Director, Southern Asian Institute.

Also present at the meeting were Prof. Leigh Lisker and Prof. F. C. Southworth from the University of Pennsylvania and Messrs. Charles Ryerson and Nair. Mr. Heginbotham, Assistant to the Director of Southern Asian Institute, has since written to me :

'*Your visit created a great deal of interest both in the Institute which you represent and in examining ways in which the study of Tamil might be developed at Columbia.* We very much appreciate your taking time to come to Columbia and will look forward to hearing of further developments in the program of the International Institute of Tamil Studies.

I assume you will be providing us in the not-too-distant future a formal request for collaboration. I would hope that such a request would include very specific statements on the nature of our commitments as well as the benefits you intend to provide.

We shall also be concerned with having a clear view of the decision-making apparatus for the Institute. Again, let me say how much I enjoyed your visit and how profitable I feel it was for our Institute and Columbia University'.

American Council of Learned Societies.—I met Professor Frederick Burkhardt. President of this Council. Prof. Burkhardt expressed keen interest in, and assured full support to the I.I.T.S. The A.C.L.S. has earlier given travel grants to American scholars who attended the International Tamil Congresses at Kuala Lumpur and Madras. The A.C.L.S. is a federation of American scholarly organizations and its object is 'the advancement of humanistic studies in all fields of learning and the maintenance and strengthening of relations among the national societies devoted to such studies.' Among other things the A.C.L.S.

(*a*) provides about forty fellowships a year in amounts up to $ 8,500 for scholars to engage in post-doctoral research in the humanities or the humanistic aspects of the Social Sciences.

(*b*) provides about twelve *Study Fellowships* in amounts up to $ 8,000.

(*c*) awards upto one hundred Grants-in-Aid in support of humanistic research and for summer research in linguistics.

(*d*) provides about one hundred and twenty five travel grants a year to American scholars for participating in international meetings abroad.

(*e*) assists in the holding in U.S. of international scholarly congresses and conferences in the humanities and social sciences, priority being given to smaller research meetings.

(*f*) provides awards for support of research in the humanities that involves the use of electronic computers.

(*g*) grants fellowships for research and training, under the Foreign Area Fellowship program which includes South Asia.

(*h*) makes grants from time to time for projects carried on by other organizations.

The A.C.L.S. is represented in the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.

The Ford Foundation.—I met Mr. C. Stephen Baldwin, Assistant Program Officer for Asia and the Pacific, who indicated that the Foundation might be interested in supporting the objectives of the I.I.T.S. and suggested that I should meet and discuss details with Mr. Harold Home II, Program Adviser in Education of the Ford Foundation at New Delhi. I propose to do so at an early date.

(*xiii*) *Philadelphia* (U.S.A.)

The American Institute of Indian Studies.—I met the President, Prof. Norman Brown, the Doyen among American Indologists. During his visits to Madras in January 1967, January 1968 and January 1969, he assured the full support of the American Institute to the I.I.T.S. and while reaffirming the support he especially welcomed the proposal to provide suitable accommodation at the I.I.T.S. for members of the Faculty as well as Post-Graduate scholars working at the I.I.T.S., as in the past the question of housing has been a serious handicap to American scholars.

(*xiv*) *Washington D. C.* (U.S.A.)

Smithsonian Institution.—I discussed the Project with Mr. Kennedy D. Whitehead, Deputy Director, Foreign Currency Program. Mr. Whitehead assured me that, as the objectives of the I.I.T.S. are within the scope of assistance normally extended by the Smithsonian, they would be prepared to give support for research at the I.I.T.S. by American scholars, if they are sponsored by American universities or Institutions having collaboration arrangements with the I.I.T.S.; he also handed me a few applications to be given to American scholars who wish to partake of such assistance from the Smithsonian. Under the Smithsonian Foreign Currency Program (SFCP), awards are granted for basic research in fields of traditional Smithsonian interest and competence. Specially, the authority which the Smithsonian has received from the U.S. Congress for the use of U.S. owned 'excess' foreign currencies (including Indian Rupee currency) allows the award of grants, amongst others, to *Archaeology and Related Disciplines*, which include besides archaeology, linguistics, ethnology, social, physical and cultural anthropology, art history, contemporary folk cultures etc. The Smithsonian encourages cooperative arrangements between American research institutions seeking foreign currency grants and appropriate institution in 'excess' currency countries.

Library of Congress.—I discussed the I.I.T.S. Library requirements with Mr. Cecil Hobbs who is in charge of the Oriental Section of the Library of Congress. Mr. Hobbs agreed to extend assistance and cooperation and suggested that I

should also correspond with the Card Division and the Chief of the Overseas Department of the Library of Congress at Washington as well as with the Field Director, Library of Congress Office in the U.S. Embassy at New Delhi.

I also met Mr. L. Arthur Minnich, Executive Secretary of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and Miss Martha Burns, India Program Officer, Department of State, both of whom expressed interest in the Project. Miss Burns suggested that I should discuss the Project with the Cultural Affairs Officer of the U.S. Embassy at New Delhi.

(*xv*) *Montreal* (CANADA)

For some reason or other, Tamil Studies have not yet become a regular feature in any of the Canadian Universities. In an official publication with the title 'The contribution of Canadian universities to an understanding of Asia and Africa' in which the names of several Indian scholars appear, there is not even one from Tamil Nad.

University of Montreal.—I discussed the Project with Prof. Jean Benoist, Department of Anthropology and other Faculty members, who expressed their support to the Project. Prof. Benoist, who had to leave for West Indies on a research assignment, promised to write to me on return on the nature of the collaboration which the University would like to have with the I.I.T.S.

McGill University.

Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute.—At the invitation of Mr. R. W. Stevenson, Executive Director of the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute and a Faculty member of the McGill University, I met and discussed with him the Project. Both on behalf of the Shastri Institute and the McGill University, Mr. Stevenson expressed keen interest in the Institute and promised to investigate the potentialities for collaboration with the I.I.T.S.

(*xvi*) *Ottawa* (CANADA)

At a lunch arranged by Mr. David W. Bartlett, Secretary General, Canadian National Commission for UNESCO, I met and discussed the Project with

Mr. Lewis Perinbam, Special Adviser to the President and Director, Special Programs Division, Canadian International Development Agency.

Mr. Jean-Marc Metivier, Director, Asian Programs, Canadian University Service Overseas.

Mr. Martin Dolgin, Cultural Affairs Division, Department of External Affairs.

Prof. Pedro Rona, Department of Linguistics, University of Ottawa.

Mrs. Louise Roheuczy, Canadian National Commission for UNESCO.

Canadian International Development Agency.—Mr. Perinbam, the Director of the Special Programs Division, expressed interest in the Institute and promised to consider possibilities of supporting collaboration between Canadian Universities and the I.I.T.S. In connection with an application for support made to the C.I.D.A. by the University of British Columbia, Mr. Perinbam has written to me as follows :

> We have also had some informal inquiries from the University of British Columbia about your project.
>
> As yet our policy in this area has not been defined and is still under active consideration. As soon as it is clarified we shall be pleased to pursue this matter with the University of British Columbia.
>
> It was a great pleasure to meet you during your visit to Ottawa and I wish your Institute every success.

Canadian University Service Overseas.—In a letter to the Secretary General of the Canadian Commission for UNESCO, Mr. Metivier, Director of the Asian Programme, has written as follows :

> I had a very interesting meeting with Professor Subbiah, where he explained in detail the history and future development of this project.
>
> As you know, CUSO has personnel serving in India, and some of them are in Tamil speaking area. Of course, it is extremely difficult to provide these individuals with adequate language training in Tamil in Canada. Therefore, after the Institute becomes operational in 1971, it might be possible for our personnel to utilize their language training facilities. Of course this is still far away in the future but I passed on all necessary information to the Director of our programme in India, Mr. George T. Jackson, who will follow this matter from New Delhi.

University of Ottawa.—Prof. Rondeau, Chairman of the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages and Prof. Pedro Rona have expressed interest in collaborating with I.I.T.S.

(*xvii*) *Buffalo* (U.S.A.)

State University of New York.—At a lunch given by Dean Fred G. Burke of the *Council on International Studies*, I discussed the I.I.T.S. project with him, Prof. Donald B. Rosenthal and Mr. James A. Michielli, Assistant to the Dean. The Council on International Studies has dedicated its major effort to the broadening of the University's international focus and Dean Burke explained that the State University of New York is a vast complex with four or five major units located at Buffalo, New York etc., and several minor units scattered over the State of New York and that he would initiate enquiries about the possibility of establishing Tamil Studies and collaborating with the I.I.T.S.

(*xviii*) *East Lansing* (U.S.A.)

Michigan State University.—As long ago as 1967 when I attended the XXVII International Congress of Orientalists in the Michigan State, the then Dean of International Studies Dr. Taggart (who has since been appointed President of the Utah State University) and Mr. Ross, Director of the Asian Studies Centre, had expressed interest in the proposed Tamil Institute, which was confirmed by Dr. Ross early in January 1969 when he visited me at Madras to discuss collaboration. Dr. Ralph Smuckler, the present Dean of International Studies, Dean Winder of the College of Social Sciences and Dr. Ralph Nicholas, Ag. Director of the Asian Studies Centre expressed their support to the Project. At a faculty lunch arranged by the Asian Studies Centre and later at a private party arranged by Dean Smuckler I met and discussed the I.I.T.S. Project with several scholars. Dr. Richard Niehoff, Assistant Dean, International Programs suggested possibilities of collaboration under the auspices of the Mid-West Universities Consortium for International Affairs, otherwise known as MUCIA. Dr. Nicholas announced at the Faculty lunch that he would organize a committee consisting of members from different faculties to consider the nature of collaboration to be established with the I.I.T.S. I also met Dr. Eugene de Benko, Librarian and his deputy Mr. Clinton Lockert who have promised assistance to I.I.T.S. in building up the Library.

(*xix*) *Madison* (U.S.A.)

University of Wisconsin.

Society for the Study of South India.—On a telephonic request from Prof. R. E. Frykenberg, Department of History, University of Wisconsin and Chairman of the Society of the Study of South India, I made an unscheduled visit to Madison on my way to Chicago and discussed the Project with Dean Robinson, Prof. Frykenberg and Dr. Hart. I was informed that Tamil had been introduced this year at the University and would stay as a permanent subject of study. They expressed interest in collaborating with the I.I.T.S.

(*xx*) *Chicago* (U.S.A.)

University of Chicago.—Even before my arrival, the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations of the University had appointed an ad hoc Committee consisting of the following members to look into the possibilities of cooperation with the I.I.T.S.

Prof. J. A. N. van Buitenen (who incidentally presided over the Plenary Sessions of the II International Tamil Conference held in January 1968, at which the I.I.T.S. project was first discussed).

Prof. Kamil Zvelebil, Visiting Professor from Czechoslovakia.

Prof. A. K. Ramanujan, a Mysore scholar and author of 'The Interior Landscape', a highly commended translation of selected classical love poetry in Tamil.

I had discussions with them, as also with several other scholars whom I met at a dinner arranged by Prof. Milton Singer, a veteran scholar interested in South Indian studies.

The University of Chicago is one of the few universities in U.S.A. who have already introduced Tamil language courses and from the discussions I gathered that, in collaboration with the I.I.T.S. they will expand their Tamil courses to include art, sociology etc. The Chairman of the ad hoc Committee has promised to write in greater detail about the collaboration.

(*xxi*) *Kansas* (U.S.A.)

Kansas State University.—As I was unable to visit Kansas City Prof. Albert B. Franklin, who was formerly American-Consul General at Madras and is now on the faculty of Kansas State University, flew to Chicago specifically to meet me and discuss the I.I.T.S. and other matters of common interest in regard to Tamil studies. He mentioned that he was likely to come to Tamil Nadu in 1970 to carry out research in modern Tamil fiction; he would also explore the possibilities of introducing Tamil studies in the Kansas State University and collaborating with I.I.T.S.

(*xxii*) *Berkeley* (U.S.A.)

University of California.—This university has long been interested in Dravidian studies and has Tamil courses. The veteran scholar Prof. M. B. Emeneau, Professor of Sanskrit and Linguistics, has conducted valuable researches in Dravidian languages and is the co-author of the monumental work 'Dravidian Etymological Dictionary' (jointly with Prof. T. Burrow, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit, Oxford University). Prof. Emeneau was unfortunately away in Europe at the time of my visit but I had fruitful discussions with Prof. Eugene F. Irschick and Dr. James W. Schubert and met other Faculty members concerned. They have expressed interest in collaborating with the I.I.T.S.

(*xxiii*) *Seattle* (U.S.A.)

University of Washington.—I had fruitful discussions with Prof. Gerow and Dr. Harold Schiffman of the Department of Asian Languages and literature. Already there are about ten students in the university committed to the study of Tamil and of Tamil Nadu. The University had a successful summer program in June—August 1969 in which intensive Tamil courses were given and as a result they anticipate that their permanent programme in Tamil Studies would receive some impetus. Prof. Gerow and Dr. Schiffman would advise in due course the ways in which their university would collaborate with I.I.T.S.

(*xxiv*) *Vancouver* (CANADA)

University of British Columbia.—Thanks to the elaborate program thoughtfully arranged by Dr. Brenda Beck of the Department of Sociology with the support of Prof. Michael Ames of the same Department, I had a series of talks with Deans, Heads of Departments, Faculty members and students, including faculty members from the neighbouring Simon Fraser University, both formally in the university campus and informally at social functions including a Presidential lunch. I was very pleasantly surprised at the keen interest evinced by faculty members and students alike. The following is an extract from a letter received from Dr. Beck.

> " My first concern in writing to you is to let you know how much the 18 faculty members concerned with South Asian studies at the University of British Columbia appreciated your visit. Your presence served as a true catalyst for our previously vague and unvoiced interest in Tamil studies. Many have remarked to me after your departure on how you managed to appeal to previously reluctant departments and deans. As a result of your visit there has been much activity devoted to nurturing the plan you inspired. If we succeed in hiring someone for the specific purpose of teaching Tamil language and literature from next year, you can honestly say that your effort planted the seeds of this achievement.
>
> As you knew before your departure, the Dean of the Arts Faculty agreed to call a special luncheon of interested Department Heads to discuss what could be done to initiate a programme of Tamil Studies at U.B.C. This luncheon was temporarily delayed due to the heavy schedules of some of the guests. It was finally held on Tuesday, November 25th. At that meeting the Heads of Linguistics, Asian Studies and Religious Studies agreed that we ought to try to hire someone to teach Tamil language and literature from next year, but that we would initially need to seek financial support for this position from an outside agency. The Dean agreed with this plan, but requested that we take the issue to a full meeting of all South Asianists at the university for approval. He suggested that he could place a stronger case before higher administrative officials, who must approve any application for outside funds, if he had an official mandate from all faculty members who might ultimately be concerned. We held that meeting this afternoon and I am delighted to tell you that *the plan was enthusiastically approved.* The same group has expressly asked me to inform you of these events. *Not only have we discussed the matter and agreed in principle to cooperate with your institute, but you may view our actions as a direct expression of this intent.*
>
> Our next step will be to draft an application to the Canadian International Development Agency requesting funds which would enable us to hire one faculty member to teach Tamil language and literature for three years. We will further request that the university take over the cost of this position after this initial period. "

(*xxv*) *Honolulu* (U.S.A.)

With the kind assistance extended to me by Prof. Clarence E. Glick (Department of Sociology) and Prof. Edgar Knowlton (Department of European languages), both of whom are keenly interested in Tamil Studies, I was able to meet and discuss the I.I.T.S. with a number of scholars including

Prof. Neal M. Bowers, Chairman, South Asia Area Committee (at a dinner given by whom the collaboration was discussed in great detail).

Prof. William Bright, Visiting Professor of Linguistics (and Editor of the well-known Journal 'Language' published by the Linguistic Society of America).

Prof. Burton Stein (interested in South Indian History).

Prof. Walter H. Maurer (Professor of Sanskrit & History).

Prof. Prithwish Neogy, (Professor of art and architecture).

Prof. Barbara Smith (Department of Music).

Prof. Minoru Shinoda, Director of Advanced Projects, East-West Center.

Dr. Phillip N. Jenner, Asian & Pacific Languages.

Miss Joyce M. Wright, Director, East-West Center Library.

Mr. John H. Kyle, Director, East-West Center Press.

Mrs. Ellen Watumull, Director of the Watumull Foundation and Honorary Indian Consul at Honolulu.

They all expressed keen interest in collaborating with the I.I.T.S.

The University of Hawaii, although politically part of U.S.A., is located in mid-Pacific and has therefore been treated as a major center for Asian studies. The university maintains cooperative relationships with Asian Universities. They offer courses in Sanskrit and Hindi and, also depending on demand and staff, in Marathi, Pali, Tamil and Urdu. Unfortunately there is at present no member on the staff who can teach Tamil.

The East-West Center was established in 1960 by a special directive of the U.S. Congress and the core of the center concept is the scholarship program. Several hundred all-expense scholarships are provided from Asian and Pacific countries on a ratio of two Asians for one American. Americans must commit themselves to study Asia while Asians can major in any field. The East-West Center is also running an Institute of Advanced Projects and, among the senior specialists who attended the Institute during the years 1961-62 to 1967-68, there were eight Indians not one of whom was from Tamil Nad.

(*xxvi*) *Tokyo* (Japan)

· *Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.*—This centre had kindly arranged for a Conference with the following scholars :

Dr. Naoshiro Tsuji (Vedic Studies), Professor Emeritus of the University of Tokyo, Director, The Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library), Director, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.

Dr. Shiro Hattori (Linguistics), Professor Emeritus of the University of Tokyo.

Prof. Tatsuro Yamamoto (Southeast Asian History), Professor, Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo.

Prof. Toru Matsui (History of Modern India), Assistant Professor, The Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.

Prof. Tsuyoshi Nara (Bengali), Assistant Professor, Institute for the Study of the Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Mr. Shigeru Ikuta (Southeast Asian History), Researcher, The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies.

Mr. Genichi Yamazaki (Ancient Indian History), Researcher, The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies.

I quote the following from a report of the meeting received from Messrs. Ikuta and Yamazaki :

Discussions were made in a friendly and academic atmosphere. All the participants already knew *the importance of Dravidian Culture in the history of India*, and showed keen interest in Tamil Studies from various points of view.

Dr. Tsuji said that while he was teaching Sanskrit at the University of Tokyo he encouraged his students to study Dravidian languages, but owing to the lack of good teachers and other facilities of this field in Japan students had no chance to learn them.

Dr. Hattori asked Mr. Subbiah many questions on the linguistic study of Tamils, and Prof. Yamamoto showed the importance of the activities of South Indian merchants in the history of Southeast Asia.

Prof. Matsui, one of the Japanese delegates for the First International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held at Kuala Lumpur in 1966, and Prof. Nara told that *the need for studying South Indian history and culture is now strongly felt amongst the Japanese researchers of Indian studies, so, without doubt, students who are interested in South India will increase in the near future.*

All the participants quite welcomed the foundation of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, and they are sure that the new Institute will

promote the Tamil studies in many fields, and will contribute to the progress of the studies of cultures of the world. *They also hoped that the Institute will make direct contact with institutes in Japan* in such possible ways as exchange of scholars and exchange of publications, etc.

I also discussed the I.I.T.S. Project with Mr. Ryoji Ito, Secretary General of the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, Mr. Sousuke Kato, Chief and Mr. Tetsuhiko Yasui, Senior Programme specialist of the Cultural Activities Division of the Commission. The following is quoted from the minutes of the meeting received from Mr. Ito.

Mr. Subbiah explained the purpose of his visit to Japan and an outline of the proposed International Institute of Tamil Studies. Various questions were raised by the attendants concerning the purposes, programmes and finance of the Institute.

In the course of discussions it was made clear that the proposed Institute was primarily a research organ which would undertake studies and research in Tamil culture at large, i.e., history, literature, language, music, dance etc.

Mr. Ito inquired about the number of researchers at the Institute. According to Mr. Subbiah, the Institute will have 7-8 faculties, each having 5-10 indigenous people and 2-3 foreign researchers, amounting to about 100 staff members at maximum.

As regards the financial aspect of the Institute, Mr. Subbiah said that the Institute was going to receive assistance from the Central Government of India as well as the Madras Government in regard to the building and equipment expenses, while it was also expecting contributions from Unesco and other Member States to defray the foreign currencies to the foreign researchers.

The present status of contact with the Madras University and other universities and institutes in foreign countries was explained by Mr. Subbiah. Relations with international non-governmental organizations were questioned. Mr. Subbiah told that in future the Institute would adhere to the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies through the medium of the International Union of Orientalists.

Finally, *Mr. Ito expressed his welcome to the idea of establishing the Institute* and hoped for the success of this project. *He further hoped that close contact* as well as collaboration with the Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies be established in pushing forward this project.

(*xxvii*) *Manila* (PHILIPPINES)

University of the Philippines.

Asian Centre.—The Asian centre was founded in 1968 by a special Act of the Philippines Republic with a grant of 2½ Million Pesos (approximately Rs. 50 lacs or U.S. $ 650,000) for buildings and other capital expenditure. The objectives of

the Asian Centre have been defined as 'the realization in concrete and attractive form of the Philippines' desire to play a leading role in the intellectual growth of Asia and the presentation of the form and spirit of the major cultures of Asia.' Prof. Juan R. Francisco of the Centre extended to me a cordial reception and extended full support to the I.I.T.S. Unfortunately my visit coincided with the General Elections in the country and owing to the last minute declaration of three consecutive holidays in connection with the elections, the appointments Prof. Francisco had made for my meeting the Director of the Asian Centre and other faculty members as well as the Executive Secretary of the Philippines National Commission for UNESCO proved infructuous.

(*xxviii*) *Bangkok* (THAILAND)

I met H. R. H. Prince Dhani Nivat, President of the Privy Council and a long-standing scholar in his own right, who had intended attending the II International Tamil Conference in Madras in 1968 but could not do so owing to some protocol difficulties. He expressed interest in the Institute and asked me to let him know if in any way he could assist the Project as far as Thailand was concerned. Prince Dhani Nivat was planning a visit to Tamil Nad early in 1970 to study temple architecture. I also met Mr. Chue Siriman, Director-General, Fine Arts Department who expressed interest in the proposed Faculty of Arts of the I.I.T.S.

Thammasat University and Chulalongkarn University.—I had a cordial discussion with Prince Wan, Rector of the Thammasat University on the I.I.T.S. Project and on his suggestion I attempted to meet Prof. Rong Sayamontr, Dean of the Faculty of South Eastern Languages of the Chulalongkarn University but owing to his other engagements I was unable to meet him before I left Bangkok on the following day.

I was also unable to meet the Secretary of the Thailand National Commission for UNESCO as she had already left or was about to leave for Paris.

(*xxix*) *Singapore*

The Ministry of Education had deputed one of their officials to assist me in my mission, which enabled me to make contacts and visit institutions of interest. I met the Hon'ble Mr. Ong Pang Boon, Minister of Education and Mr. N. K. Vanniasingham, the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education. The Minister assured me of support to Tamil Studies, Tamil being one of the four official languages of the State. At his suggestion, Mr. Vanniasingham arranged for an appointment with the Deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of Singapore to discuss the I.I.T.S. Project.

I then met Mr. Reginald Quahe, Deputy Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Quahe explained that, at the time of the separation of Singapore State from Malaysia, several University Departments were allocated to one state or the other and as the Tamil

population in Malaysia was larger than in Singapore, the Tamil Department (known as Department of Indian Studies) was allotted to the University of Malaya. As a result of our discussion, Mr. Quahe said they would now consider the question of opening a Tamil Department in the University of Singapore and collaborating with the I.I.T.S.

I also visited the Regional English Language Centre, a cooperative venture of the States of Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Laos and the Republic of Viet Nam; it is supported by U.S. Government (who provide the main financial support aggregating U.S. \$ 1¾ million), the Singapore Government (who—as the host country—meet all local expenditure including building, maintenance, utilities and some staff, cost of building alone amounting to \$ 1¾ million) and the U.K. Government (who contribute professional staff, library books and audio-visual equipment). Mrs. Tai Yu-lin, Director of the Centre, took me round and I was impressed by the efficient manner in which the Centre is functioning with a well equipped library, language laboratory and a competent trained staff, although it was started just over a year ago. The technique and methods followed at the Regional English Language Centre as well as the experience gained by them would be of great value to the I.I.T.S. when the School of Languages is started in 1971 and it would be of mutual benefit if the two institutions keep in close touch. Mrs. Yu-lin expressed her readiness to assist the I.I.T.S. in this respect.

PART II

Reasons for neglect of Tamil Studies at international levels.

The discussions I had during my visiting mission with scholars of widely differing background and working in diverse fields gave me the impression that the general neglect of Tamil studies in universities in Europe, America and Asia could be traced to historical factors. The early Indologists from Europe, who did not have the benefit of archaeological, historical and linguistic evidence which have since come to light and who in part were influenced by the then popular but false ethnic concepts, came to the facile conclusion that the Vedic language and Sanskrit, and Pali in the case of Buddhist culture, represented par excellence Indian culture. Tamil was to them only a vernacular language like Hindi, Bengali, Marathi etc., and hence the distinct and more ancient Dravidian culture—which today is recognized as the major component of Indian culture—was a closed book to them. Further the discovery in the late eighteenth century of the linguistic affinity—between Sanskrit on the one hand and Greek, Latin and other members of what has since been described as the Indo-European family on the other—led to a rapid development of the Science of Philology and Linguistics and hence a study of Sanskrit became an indispensable part of Indo-European Linguistic studies..

2. *Present growing interest.*—In recent years however, there has been a growing awareness among Western scholars of the great antiquity and importance of Dravidian culture, principally due to the following reasons :

(i) Consequent on the discovery in 1923 of the Indus Valley civilization, following the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, it is now generally accepted that this 'wonderful pre-Aryan civilization existed in the Indus Valley many centuries before the period of the Aryan intrusion'. Archaeological, cultural, linguistic, palaeographic, literary, religious and other evidence is accumulating in favour of Dravidians or Proto-Dravidians being the originators of this civilization, which was contemporaneous with the other two ancient civilizations of Egypt and Sumer.

(ii) The multi-sided achievements of the Tamils—in the fields of literature, arts such as music, dance, architecture, sculpture—are providing a great appeal to specialists in these fields.

(iii) The fact that Tamil is the only example in history of an ancient classical language, which has retained its *standard* spoken form practically unchanged for a period of over 2,000 years (enabling one to study its vast range of literature from ancient, through medieval to modern times) is of great significance to students of linguistics and Sociological studies.

(iv) Lastly, the ancient classical Tamil works like KURAL indicate that the Tamils were all through the ages inspired by great but pragmatic concepts of humanism, very much in line with modern thought; this has led to the Kural being translated into as many as fifty languages.

It is significant however that this growing interest in Tamil studies is more noticeable amongst scholars in Europe than in North America. Apart from a study of Sanskrit for linguistic purposes which is common to both Europe and North America, Indological studies in general have been more popular in Europe (perhaps due to their colonial relationship with the South and South Asian countries in the past) while Far Eastern (Chinese, Japanese, Buddhist etc.) studies appear to have received greater attention in North America; it is not therefore surprising that European Indologists were the first to discover the serious gaps in their studies arising out of an undue preoccupation with Sanskrit studies and total neglect of Dravidian studies and felt the need for filling these gaps through a more intensive study of Dravidian. Even in North America, I found that Sanskritists strongly supported Tamil studies. Recent developments also indicate that the old concepts of regional areas of interest are giving place to planning on a wider global basis and my contacts with scholars in America during my visiting mission make me feel that they would not lag behind European scholars in the area of Tamil studies.

3. *Handicaps.*—Most of the scholars whom I met have however expressed to me that if Tamil studies are to be firmly established in Western universities, steps should be taken to remove or at least minimise the difficulties generally experienced in introducing or continuing Tamil studies:

(i) *Paucity of trained Tamil scholars.*—Again and again I was told that the lack of Tamil scholars trained in modern methods of teaching Tamil as a second language and its literature was a serious handicap. In two or three universities, where traditional Tamil scholars lacking a modern background were employed for teaching Tamil the results proved disappointing; in some cases the universities resorted to appointing Kannada or Malayalam speaking scholars, who had a more modern background and training, to teach Tamil but they lacked competence in literary and other cultural aspects of Tamil studies.

(ii) *Books in English.*—The paucity of books in English and other foreign languages pertaining to Tamil studies has been another serious handicap. A wide variety of books including Readers, Text books, translations etc., must be made available. Even in the case of books already published, several scholars complained that publishers in Tamil Nadu including universities were far from helpful in complying with indents for books.

(iii) *Lack of bibliographies.*—In the absence of readily availble bibliographies of books and manuscripts relating to Tamil studies in different parts of the world, researchers are unable to get at source material needed for research.

(iv) *Financial resources.*—The greatest handicap however is the inadequacy of financial resources available for starting new departments even in the developed countries. Universities have expanded to an unprecedented degree during the past twenty years or so and both for this reason as well as for budgetary exigencies the tendency has been to apply the break on further expansions except where the need for such expansion is established to the satisfaction of sanctioning authorities. In the case of comparatively little known fields like Tamil studies, while the sponsoring scholars are themselves convinced of the need for such studies, they do not always find it easy to convince heads of Departments, Deans and others higher up in the university organizations, who are called upon to decide between competing claims, of the need for conceding priority to this long neglected field. Many of them have expressed to me that if the UNESCO or the National Commissions of the Unesco in the member states including India or the Government of Tamil Nadu could help to give an impetus to Tamil studies in the initial stages, the universities themselves would find it feasible, after an experimental period of two or three years, to make the studies permanent. At present the only Indian languages which appear to receive active State support are Hindi, Urdu and Bengali.

4. In this connection, I wish to pay a word of tribute to the academic open-mindedness of the many scholars I had the good fortune to meet during my visiting mission. As a result of the personal discussions I had with representatives of nearly fifty institutions I visited during the mission, I am glad to be able to report that practically all of them are now convinced of the need to rectify the present imbalance in Indian studies by undertaking intensive research in Tamil and Dravidian and, as a necessary preliminary to such research, of the need to institute Tamil courses in universities where such courses do not now exist. It should be the endeavour therefore of the International Institute of Tamil Studies to give priority to measures calculated to remove the handicaps which are now felt by foreign universities and scholars in establishing or continuing Tamil studies.

5. Many foreign scholars working in diverse fields—Art, Archaeology, History, Linguistics, Literature, Philosophy and Religion, Sociology etc.—have personally expressed to me their keenness to collaborate with the Tamil Institute as Visiting Professors, for carrying out research at the Institute in their respective areas of interest and for teaching and training Tamil scholars in these fields; it will therefore mainly depend upon the nature of the facilities which the Institute can provide, to what extent and how soon the services of these foreign scholars could be harnessed for the implementation of the Institute's objectives.

6. The International Association of Tamil Research has appointed an internationally representative Consultative Committee to approve—on the basis of this report of my visiting mission—a Detailed Programme for the Institute for 1971—

1974 to be submitted to the UNESCO for consideration at its General Conference in October 1970. A copy of the Secretary General's letter dated January 3, 1970 addressed to the members of the proposed Committee is attached.

7. I wish to conclude with the note that, when I started on my mission, I had the misgiving that I might have an uphill task in convincing scholars abroad of the need for collaborating with the International Tamil Institute but instead I noticed a remarkable consensus amongst scholars that the Tamil Institute would fill a great void in the study of the major cultures of the world and that the sponsoring of the Institute by the UNESCO was wholly appropriate. I felt more than ever convinced at the conclusion of my mission of the urgency of starting the Institute and throwing it open to international scholars interested in Tamil studies with the least possible delay.

27-A, CHOUDHURY COLONY,
MADRAS, JANUARY 6, 1970.

A. SUBBIAH,
Member-Secretary, Managing Committee

ADDENDA

Since the above Report was submitted, I have received further letters from foreign scholars supporting the I.I.T.S. Project, extracts from which are appended:

Prof. Edwin Gerow, Associate Director, Far Eastern and Russian Institute and Professor of Sanskrit, University of Washington.

> *I am delighted to express, on behalf of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute of the University of Washington, our unqualified support for your projected Tamil Institute under UNESCO.* The need for such an academic undertaking is more evident now than before, given the renaissance in Dravidian studies in India; it has been apparent for some time that *Tamil is one of the most understudied cultural traditions of the world, meriting greater emphasis in the West particularly, in view of its antiquity and achievements.*

Dr. Hugh F. Owen, Director, Centre for Asian Studies, University of Western Australia.

> I am indeed honoured by the proposal of the International Association of Tamil Research to appoint me as the Australian representative on the Academic Consultative Committee for the detailed programme of the Institute for 1971–74 to be submitted to UNESCO. It is very pleasing to know that Mr. Subbiah has concluded his visit to various countries. *I should be glad to hear from him if he thinks there is any way in which the University here or I can collaborate with him and the Institute.*

Dr. (Mrs.) A. Gaur, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum.

> It was a great pleasure to meet you during your visit to Europe and learn how well the preparations for the International Tamil Institute are already under way.......... *I might be able to come to India in 1971 and I shall be pleased to offer any assistance at the Library.*

Prof. Dr. Kamil V. Zvelebil, South Asia Language & Area Centre, The University of Chicago.

> First of all, let me express, on behalf of the Committee for the Co-operation with I.I.T.S. and the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, our deep satisfaction with the results of your visit and our talks which we held during the days you spent in Chicago last year as part of your great mission.
>
> As you know, our ad hoc Committee for the Co-operation with I.I.T.S. was established in March 1969, and Mr. Minnich of the United States

National Commission for UNESCO was informed about our willingness to co-operate with the I.I.T.S. and about our concrete suggestions. Mr. Minnich replied to our letter on July 10. In Autumn, between October 17th and Oct. 22nd, you visited Chicago and we discussed some of the general as well as more concrete steps towards the co-operation between the pertinent departments and personnel at the University of Chicago and the I.I.T.S.

You had discussions with Dr. R. E. Streeter, Dean of Humanities, U. of C., Prof. Milton S. Singer, Prof. of Sociology and Anthropology, Prof. J. A. B. van Buitenen, Chairman, Dept. of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, Prof. A. K. Ramanujan, Prof. K. V. Zvelebil, Chairman, ad hoc Committee for Co-operation with I. I. T. S., Prof. Lloyd I. Rudolph, Chairman, College of Political Science, Prof. Susanne H. Rudolph (Political and Social Sciences), Dr. E. Annamalai, Asst. Prof. and others. You also met a number of students and visited a Tamil Class, and you also met Dr. Albert Franklin.

We are willing to co-operate with the proposed Institute in the following ways:

1. *We are willing to extend our expert advice and consultation in academic and organisational matters, by correspondence and personally.* The personal consultation may consist in sending one consultant to Madras for an ad hoc short-time consultation.

2. *We are willing to participate regularly in training, instruction and research at the Institute in Madras* once it starts functioning regularly as an academic Institution, *preferably in the Summer and Autumn Quarters of the academic year current in Chicago, i.e., between the months of July and December.*

3. *We expect to be able to offer two 2-years' senior fellowships, one in Tamil Language and Literature, and one in Dravidian Studies, at this Department, to Indians selected and sent to us by the Institute in Madras.*

As far as point 2 is concerned, *you expressed specific interest in having one person from our Department for Tamil Language and Literature, and another for Dravidian and Linguistics.* There was a discussion of the possibility whether Prof. Ramanujan or/and Prof. Zvelebil could participate in near future as under point 2. Nothing concrete in terms of dates was settled, but a possibility was mentioned that *in 1971 in Autumn and/or 1972 in Summer and Autumn Professors Ramanujan and Zvelebil might be able to come (each separately) to participate in teaching and research at the Institute in Madras,* once it will be functioning as a regular academic body.

We are informing Mr. L. A. Minnich of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO about our talks in Chicago, and about our decisions.

Let me thank you once more for your visit and express our hopes that we shall have a very fruitful co-operation in the years to come.

Part II

International Association of Tamil Research

Thamilakam,
Telegrams : "INTAMIL" Sterling Road, Madras-34, India.
3rd January, 1970

Academic Consultative Committee for detailed Programme for 1971–74 to be submitted to the UNESCO.

Mr. A. Subbiah, Member-Secretary, Managing Committee of the International Institute of Tamil Studies (I.I.T.S.) has returned from his visiting Mission to several countries to establish collaboration between the I.I.T.S. and universities in the countries visited by him and is now preparing his Report on the mission to the UNESCO who sponsored the mission; a copy of this report will be sent to you as soon as ready. Based on this report, a Detailed Programme for the Institute for 1971—1974 will require to be submitted to the UNESCO to enable them to assist the Institute with financial and other assistance during this period and to request its member states who support the Institute to offer similar assistance.

2. It has been suggested that the International Association of Tamil Research appoint an internationally representative expert committee to approve of this programme. We suggest that this Committee be constituted with the follownig members :

AUSTRALIA ..	Dr. H. F. Owen, Director, Centre for Asian Studies, The University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Western Australia, 6009.
CANADA ..	Dr. Brenda E. F. Beck, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 8, Canada.
CEYLON ..	Prof. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, 8, Ramanathan Avenue, Dehiwala, Ceylon.
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This Committee may meet and finalize the Detailed Programme at the time of the Third International Tamil Conference in July 1970. We hope you will be able to attend the Paris Conference.

Yours sincerely,

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

Secretary-General

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